KHAJURĀHO SCULPTURES

AND

THEIR SIGNIFICANCE

(*WITH ILLUSTRATIONS*)

By

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Dedicated to

the revered memory of my father,

the late Dr. K. C. Rao.

PREFACE

The small village of Khajurāho is situated in the Madhya-Pradesh at a distance of about twenty-eight miles from the town of Chattarpur and forty-five miles from Mahoba. The village is in a secluded area being covered with jungles all over. This site of ancient remains remained neglected for a long time and only recently the Archaeological Department has begun to take care of it. Chance visitors referred to the magnificent structures and the artistic beauty of these temples. Recently, the dynastic history of the Chandellas has also been traced from the inscriptions found in some of the temples, but so far no attempt has been made to read the pictorial documentary sculptured in the small friezes and images of the temples even though the images are not less than four to five hundred in one single shrine.

Whatever scanty documentary evidence about the social life of the people of the time is available it is essential to make a thorough study of these sculptural remains to corroborate the information further. A careful study of these monuments seems to unravel much of the social and economic conditions prevailing in the area in the 10th and 11th centuries and also throws some light on the political history of the people of that area. The icons depicted reveal that the sculptors of the day followed the main iconographic instructions laid down not in one or two Sanskrit texts but in the whole extant literature on the subject. They also show that Hindu iconography seems to have been passing through an evolutionary stage during this period. The many-headed and many-handed depictions combining the characteristic ayudhas of two, three or even four gods and the striking changes in the arrangement of their ayudhas from all existing literature on the subject show not only the originality of the sculptors in venturing upon diversions from the existing sacred texts (at the same time retaining the chief characteristic ayudhas) but also exhibit the versatility of their art. It would perhaps be not too much to say that at Khajurāho art has been employed as the chief

vehicle of religious symbolism. It is quite probable that the particular text of iconography that they followed has not come down to us. The kings and rich citizens seem to have vied with each other in decorating their city with beautiful temples which have now become our rare and proud heritage, as they show that India was at the zenith of her artistic genius in that period. An attempt has been made in the following thesis to study the sculptured wealth of Khajurāho to glean from it such light as they throw on the social, economic and political life of the period. An introductory chapter seeks to explain the circumstances that led to the growth of Khajurāho as an important religious centre. In subsequent chapters, conditions relating to the religious and the social life of the people, their dress, ornaments, recreations and economic activities have been discussed. Chapters III and IV discuss in detail the iconography of Khajurāho for the first time. Indeed, it may be safely claimed that this book is the first attempt to study the Khajurāho sculptures and all that they signify of historical and social importance. Gist of Chapters V and IX have been already published in the D.A.V. College Research Journal (Vol. I, No. 1. 1954, pp. 66-74).

I entertain the fond hope that this first study of Khajurāho art in its social aspects will fill a long-felt want, and perhaps initiate similar studies of other art treasures of the country. I have tried to be as exact, analytical and explanatory in the treatment of the subject as possible, and I hope that my interpretation of the iconography of Khajurāho, in its artistic as well as its social aspects, done here for the first time, will be found accurate and enlightening.

The work incorporated here was submitted, in the form of a thesis for the Ph.D. degree, to the Agra University. For the inspiring guidance and invaluable suggestions, I am highly indebted to Prof. K. S. Bhatnagar, M.A., Ex-Dean of the Faculty of Arts, Agra University. I cannot help specially mentioning here my great indebtedness to Dr. R. K. Dikshit, M.A., Ph.D., Professor of Ancient Indian History, Lucknow University, and

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—Author

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LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

T.	— Temple
Lt	— Left
Rt	— Right
Pradak	— Pradakashinā
Ardha Man	— Ardha Maṅdap
Mandap	— Mahāmaṅdap
Sm	— Small
Out	— Outside the temple
Viś	— Viśvanāth
Lak	— Lakshman
Kanḍ	— Kanḍariā
Pārs. N	— Pārśva Nāth
Jag	— Jagdambī
Bh. Ch.	— Bharat Chitragupta
Ch. Bh.	— Ćhaturbhuja
Śānti	— Śānti Nāth
Dūlādeo	— Dūlādeo Temple
Chausath	— Chausath Joginī
Museum	— Jardine Museum
Vām	— Vāman Temple
Ādi. N.	— Ādināth
Pratāp	— Pratāpeśwar
G.S. Chattarpur	— Gāndhi Smārak Chattarpur
Adj	— Adjacent

Note : The numericals within brackets stand for references from the books ; whereas those without brackets denote references to the sculptures.

CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

No study of North Indian temples would be complete if the important group of temples found at Khajurāho were left out of such a review. Even a passer-by is struck by the beauty of the tall magnificent Śikharas rising above the treetops of the isolated small village of Khajurāho. India has many temples, new and old as the construction of temples has always been looked upon by Indians as an act of piety. This common practice of kings and rich merchants provided employment for large numbers of labourers, and fostered art and architecture. These edifices have now become valued treasures for historians because they help us greatly in our quest of the past and illuminate many a dark spot of Indian history. Some of the inscriptions given in the temples are of much help in tracing the genealogies of their builders and often guide the historians of to-day in dispelling the mist of myths which so often shrouds the past.

Such old and historic temples are numerous and widely scattered all over the South but they are comparatively fewer in the North. We have, however, two famous centres, at Bhuvaneśvara and Khajurāho, where we have fairly large groups of medieval temples. The Bhuvaneśvara temples have been known to the people for quite a long time and much has been written about them. Those at Khajurāho have attracted attention only very recently and very little is known about them still. Cunningham's Archaeological Survey Reports give only a few lines about the rich sculptures and the elaborate architecture of these temples. Few North Indian temples, if any, however, contain such profuse and varied plastic decorations as the Khajurāho temples. Every portion of the interior and the exterior of these temples is covered with geometrical designs, images of fabulous beings and mythical figures, and of men and women carefully chiselled in every nook and corner. From tiny figures carefully cut with minute precision, we have a number of colossal images shaped and cut out of single pieces of stone. Every individual

figure, big or small, conveys in abounding measure the subtle mysticism of India's religious imagination through the expression of the face, smiling lips or twinkling eyes. The sculptor seems to have captured many a fleeting mood in only a few strokes of his masterly chisel.

Khajurāho art seems to illustrate, by an architectural parallelism, the age-old Hindu belief that just as the perishable human body has an indestructible soul within, the visible Universe enshrines the Absolute in its core. The temples of Khajurāho depict in their sculptural details the amplitude of Māyā[1] on the inner and outer pradakshinās or circumambulatory passages of these impressive creations, and exhibit in impressive symbols the Imperishable and the Eternal in their innermos sanctums.

In the bigger temples, like the Kandariyā, Viśvanāth and Lakshman,[2] there are two small friezes in the inner and outer pradakshinā depicting social scenes. In the inner pradakshinā of the Viśvanāth temple and a third frieze is also found all round the Mandap and the pradakshinā. These friezes are aboat 7" broad and are filled exclusively with secular scenes in relief. The Lakshman temple however has on its base one frieze about one foot broad dealing with social, battle and obscene scenes. The bigger images sculptured all over the walls of the temples are about three feet tall and among them, besides gods, ladies differently engaged, *e.g.*, doing their toilet, playing with children, painting or wearing ornaments, have been depicted.

These images seem to recount in stone the whole tale of mundane human life of the age, through their expressions and poses. The mother's love for her child, the child's preliminary training at the hands of the mother, and later still the child's entry into the Brahmacharyāśrama wherein the Gurū bestows upon him his store of knowledge and learning, the entry into the Gṛhasthāśrama and the whole panorama of domestic life, the

1. Indian Architecture (Buddhist & Hindu) 1942—Percy Brown, Chapter XXII, p. 134.

2. The description of these temples follows later on p. 10.

Kandariya Temple

rich gaudy or coarse clothes and jewellery used by people and finally the final renunciation of all human ties and relations, known as the Sanyāsāśrama, are all depicted in detail in these wonderful sculptures.

The different kinds of dresses and jewellery tell us about the professions, the personal status and the common fashions of the time. Men and women are depicted engaged in their domestic duties or recreations. All these scenes throw a flood of light on the society of the time.

It is surprising that no male figures, excepting Mithuna couples, find a place among the big images (with a single exception in the Lakshman Temple).

Sometimes many of the gods' or male and female images are found inserted here and there in the huge plinth of the temples. Figures of Dikpālas, in the Khajurāho temples, besides the usual places assigned for such sculptures, are depicted all round the inner and outer prādakshinā walls, as will be evident from their detailed descriptions given in the chapter concerned.

Most of the images found in a particular temple are those of the deity enshrined in the sanctum such as Śiva in the Kandariyā, Visvanāth and Dūlādeo temples and Viṣṇu in the Vāmana, Lakshman and Bharat Chitragupta temples. The Jain temples of the place, however, have Brahmanical deities sculptured all round. In the Bharat Chitra Gupta temple, besides Viṣṇu, Śiva and Hayagriva are most commonly depicted and in the Pārśvanāth temple Śiva has been depicted with some uncommon āyudhas.[1] The Chausath Jogini temple has no gods' images—all being those of goddesses.

Besides the centrally enshrined divine image in its anthropomorphic animal-incarnate or aniconic form (the latter only in the case of Śiva), there are thousands of images of other gods and goddesses depicted in their various conventional forms and poses, such as the Śanta Mudrā (calm attitude), Ugra Mudrā (terrific attitude) and Ālingana or Bhoga Mudrā (along with the consort). The gods and goddesses enshrined in the sanctum show that

1. Refer to Sec. B of Chapter III for details and also see p. 133.

Panchadevopāsanā was popular in the Khajurāho region during the 9th to the 11th centuries, the devas being Viṣṇu, Maheśa, Sūrya, Śakti and Ganeśa. Most of the gods are shown with uncommon āyudhas (or weapons) in their hands which often constitute an interesting but confusing departure from the prescribed iconographical conventions. Sometimes their Vāhanas are also absent which makes their identification rather a difficult problem. In this respect the Jagadambī temple seems to be a storehouse of the most peculiar depiction of icons.

These gods' and demigods' images, other than the Panchadevas, are fixed in sockets called "Pithas" shaped like lotus leaves at a distance of not more than a foot from each other in the outer and inner walls of these temples. They are beautifully carved and exhibit meticulously the minutest details. However, the cruel hand of the iconoclast[1] reached many of these temples and has demolished many an image leaving only empty sockets.

Apart from purely religious themes, scenes depicting ways and means of livelihood through the various occupations of men, means of transport ; as well as, scenes of life in cities, towns, and villages also abound at Khajurāho and throw a spotlight on contemporary economic conditions. Images of kings and countries, battle scenes, weapons of war and court scenes exhibit other aspects of the political and corporate life of the people. The images thus reflect the social, economic, political and religious life of the people of the time and help us to reconstruct a picture of contemporary life. This peculiar blending of the celestial with the temporal not only gives a greater variety of imaginary to the spectator but also illustrates that distinctive commingling of the secular and the divine which has always been the hallmark of Indian Art.

LOCATION

Khajurāho, capital of the Chandellas, is situated in the Chhattarpur district of Madhya Pradesh. It is forty-five miles

1. Mahmūd of Ghazni invaded the Chandella Kingdom in 1019 A.D. in order to punish Gaṇḍa, the Chandella king whose son Vidyādhara had led a army to punish Rājyāpala who had submitted to Mahmūd. "Gaṇḍa fled away without hazarding an open encounter with the Musalmans."—Prehistoric Ancient and Hindu India by R.D. Banerji, Chapter VIII, p. 40.

from Mahoba, a historic town of the region in the neighbouring Hamirpur district of the Uttara Pradesh.[1] Covering an area of about eight miles it is surrounded by the hilly ranges of the Vindhyāchala mountains. A small stream flows nearby and the wild natural growth tends to enhance the scenic beauty of the place. The nearby hills supplied the builders with massive slabs of stone needed for erecting the huge structures which are built entirely of sandstone. The neighbouring town of Panna, an important trade centre due to its diamond mines, supplies stone to the surrounding area even to this day.

According to the Viṣṇudharmottara[2], an early compendium on architecture and iconography, consecrated images should be installed in forts, auspicious cities, at the head of shoplined streets or in villages or hamlets of cowherds. "At riversides, in forests, gardens, at the sides of ponds, on hill tops, in beautiful valleys and particularly in caves" the images should be installed because at these places the "denizens of heaven" are present. In places without tanks, gods are not present ; therefore, a temple should not be built in a place having no tank on the right, the left or in front. A temple built on an island is considered to be auspicious.

SITE

The site (*i.e.*, Khajurāho) as stated above was well furnished with jungles, hills, valleys, a tank known as Khajurāho Sāgar and even with a small stream, only the lake and the tank on the right and left were missing. In order to build the sacred structures completely in accordance with the texts, the tenth century architects dug out a tank known as the "Choprā" on the left and the Sivasāgar lake on the right front of the temples. Lotuses were grown in the lake which to this day is full of them A place "where the sun's rays are warded off by umbrellas of Lotus-leaf-

1. Another route is from Jhansi to Harpalpur, from Harpalpur to Chhattarpur and thence to Khajurāho which is 28 miles ahead. Being equidistant from Panna and Chhattarpur the two towns of the Madhya Pradesh it forms the central-most place of that region and is situated on 24° 51′ latitude and 79° 56′ longitude.

2. Part III, Chapter XCIII, pp. 25-31, as quoted by Stella Kramrisch in The Hindu Temple on page 5, Vol. I, 1946.

clusters", according to Brihat-Saṁhitā "is the place where gods play."[1]

According to Stella Kramrisch,[2] "the Tirthas and Kshetras on Indian soil are potent sites where a presence (god's) is felt to dwell." Amarkaṅtaka[3] in Baghelkhand, at the source of the Narmadā, Son and Mahānadī, has up to the present day been a favourite abode of Hindu saints and sages. From the days of the "Matsya-Purāṇa", this sacred site "enveloped in its dust and the smoke of its fires, the pilgrims congregated there." The stronghold of Kaliṅjara in the vicinity of Khajurāho has also been looked upon as a Tīrtha since the days of the Mahābhāratā.[4] Standing midway between these ancient Tīrthas lies Khajurāho, and it seems that as a half-way halt to the sacred Amarkaṅtaka hills, Khajurāho must have been meant by Nature herself, to become a great temple city. The characteristic policy of religious toleration pursued by all Hindu kings throughout the ages helped this temple-city in course of time to become a cosmopolitan religious centre of Hindus, Jains and possibly Buddhists as the extent remains amply proved The local rulers decorated their capitals with magnificent temples dedicated to Brahmanical, Jain and Buddhist gods as soaring symbols of the greatness of their faith and piety.[5] The artistic splendour and the catholic variety of the temples drew crowds of men to the place and it attained importance as a big religious centre, a Tīrtha in the neighbourhood of Amarkaṅtaka and Kaliṅjara just as Hṛiṣīkeśa, and Haradwār are the Tīrthas leading to Badrināth in the Himālayas.

Khajurāho owes its sacredness to the blessings of the moon God, Chandramā, which it does not appear to have lost even today for even now large numbers of people of the region visit the place during the Śivarātri festival when a big fair is held there. Ibn

1. (LV. 4-8) quoted by Stella Kramrisch in The Hindu Temple, Vol. I, p. 5 (1946).

2. Stella Kramrisch's The Hindu Temple, Vol. I, p. 4 (1946).

3. 22° 41′ N ; 81° 46′ E.

4. C.V. Vaidya's—Rise of India, Part II, Chapter VII, p. 200.

5. Indian Architecture (Buddhist and Hindu)—1942, Percy Brown, Chapter XXII, p. 133.

Batuta[1] also reports about a great number of Mahants who crowded the place when he visited it in the year 1335 A.D. The simple villagers living there, believe to this day that the Sivasāgar lake contains the holy waters of all the sacred rivers of India

The famous forts of Kaliṅjara near Bāndā and Ajaigarh near Panna were strongholds of great warrior kings and they helped to make Khajurāho a place of great security, which, it was probably hoped, could never be penetrated to by Moslem iconoclasts. As a central place and a place doubly protected both by natural and artificial means, it was naturally the stronghold of the great Hindu rulers who enjoyed the possession of the surrounding areas so late as the 16th century A.D being perhaps the last to succumb to the powerful invaders. Due to its safety and sanctity Khajurāho remained the capital of the Chandellas right from Nannuka down to Dhaṅga and his grandson.

The Chandellas

It would not be improper to give here, in broad outline, a short history of the Chandella kings who were the rulers of this region and some of whom were actually the builders of some of these temples The Chandellas are famous as the kings of Jejākabhukti or modern Bundelkhand.[2] Tradition traces the rise of Chandellas from Hemāvatī, the daughter of Hemarāja—the Purōhita of the Gahadawāra ruler Indrajīt of Banaras.[3] According to Cunningham, Hemarāja was crowned as Chandravarmā in Samvat 225=168 A.D. Thus Khajurāho became the seat of the government of Chandravarmā, the founder of the dynasty, and remained the capital of his successors after him till the 16th century A.D. The Khajurāho stone inscription of Dhaṅga (V.S. 1011=954 A.D.) also traces the origin of the family

1. Cunningham's Archaeological Survey Reports, Vol. XXI, p. 55.

2. Dynastic History of Northern India by H.C. Raychowdhury, Vol. II, pp. 673 to 712.

3. When Hemāvatī went to bathe in the Rati Tālāb, as tradition has it, Chandramā (the moon), enticed by her beauty embraced her and hastened back to the skies. When Hemāvati, who knew not how to hide her dishonour cursed him, he consoled her by saying that she should offer her son as a gift at Khajurāho and perform sacrifice. As prophesied by the Moon God, the son became a great ruler of Mahoba and the builder of the famous fort of Kaliṅjara.

from Viśvasrk Purāṇapuruṣa—the creator of the Universe to sages Mārīchi and Attri and then follows Muni Chandratrēya. Hence, we may conclude that Chandratrēya or Chandravarmā was the original ancestor of the dynasty. The real historical founder of the dynasty, however, seems to have been one Nannuka who flourished in the first quarter of the ninth century A.D. Nannuka's successors played a prominent part in the politics of their age. His immediate successor, Vākpati, joined the contest for control of the Viṅdhyā hills with Bhoja, the Pratihāra Emperor of Kannauja, and Devapāl of Bengal. Vākpati's successor, Jayaśakti or Jejāka, even conferred his name on the region over which he ruled so that it came to be known as "Jejākubhukti". Yaśōvarman seems however to have been the greatest ruler of the dynasty. He conquered Kaliñjara in the North, and the whole country up to the borders of Chedi and Mālavā to the south, and Gaṇḍa and Mithilā to the East. Yaśovarman's successor Dhaṅga (954—1002 A.D) seems to have finally repudiated the overlordship of Kannauja and conquered Banaras, Kośala and for a time even Aṅga ; and joined Jayapāla, ruler of the Punjab, against Sabuktgin of Ghazni in the battle of Lamaghan (989 A.D.) Dhaṅga assumed the sovereign title of "Mahārājādhirāja", and his prime minister was a reputed Nyāyika, Prabhāśa by name.[1]

The Chandellas were thus great and cultured rulers and it is under their patronage that Khajurāho grew to be a great temple city. The 10th century inscription of Dhaṅga's reign also mentions the names of Nannuka, Vākpati, Jayaśakti, Vijayaśakti and his son Rāhila, the rulers of Khajurāho. Harsha and Yaśovarman are also mentioned, the latter of whom is said to have built a shrine for the god Viṣṇu which is identified by Cunningham with the present Lakshman temple where an inscription confirming this fact has been found.

Dhānga,[2] the son of Yaśovarman became the most powerful

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1. The age of Imperial Kannauj—Ed. by Dr. R.C. Majumdar 1950, pp. 82-86.

2. Prehistoric, Ancient and Hindu India by R.D. Banerji, Chapter VIII, p. 239, D.H.N.I. by Raychaudhri, Vol. II, pp. 677-687.

king of North India in the 10th century A.D. He built two temples of Śiva at Khajurāho called Markateśvara and Pramathanātha temples and was the first sovereign ruler of the dynasty. Cunningham identifies the latter temple[1] with the existing Viśvanāth temple. All the inscriptions dated V.S. 1011=954 A.D., V.S. 1058=1001 A.D. and V.S. 1059=1002 A.D. belong to Dhaṅga's reign and record the gifts of a Jain devotee and the construction of the temples of Vaidyanātha and Viśvanāth respectively. The former temple does not exist now. The last two of these inscriptions are built into the walls of the Viśvanāth temple. The first inscription inscribed on the doorjamb of the Pārśvanāth temple, records the gifts of a number of Vātikās for the maintenance of the temple by Pāhila, a Jain devotee, who belonged to the reign of Dhaṅga.

After Dhaṅga the dynasty is further traced in inscriptions from Gaṅda down to Madanavarman and Paramārdi. As some of the Jain images belonging to the Jain group of temples at Khajurāho bear inscriptions of Madanavarman dated V.S. 1205 and 1215 (respectively equal to 1148 and 1158 A.D.), it may be conjectured that he was a Jain and as such he fostered Jainism in the region.

It is highly interesting to note that Yaśovarman was a Vaiṣṇava, Dhaṅga, Śaiva and Madanavarman a Jain in faith. This variety of faiths professed by the Chandella kings resulted in the building of temples dedicated to their respective faiths. It is quite probable that one of these kings was also a patron of Buddhism as is supported by the co-existence of Vaiṣṇava, Śaiva, Saura, Buddha[2] and Jain temples at Khajurāho. Huien Tsang reports to have seen many Buddhist monasteries here in 641 A.D when he visited the place.[3] Cunningham is also of the opinion that the Northern group which is three-fourths of a mile from the Western group of temples consists chiefly of the ruins of

1. Archaeological Survey Reports, Cunningham, Vol. II, p. 424.

2. The Age of Imperial Kannauj by R.C. Majumdar 1955, Chapter XI, p. 330.

3. Cunningham's Reports, Vol. II, p. 416.

Buddhist monasteries. They were called Satdhārā just like the great Buddhist establishment near Bhilsā[1]

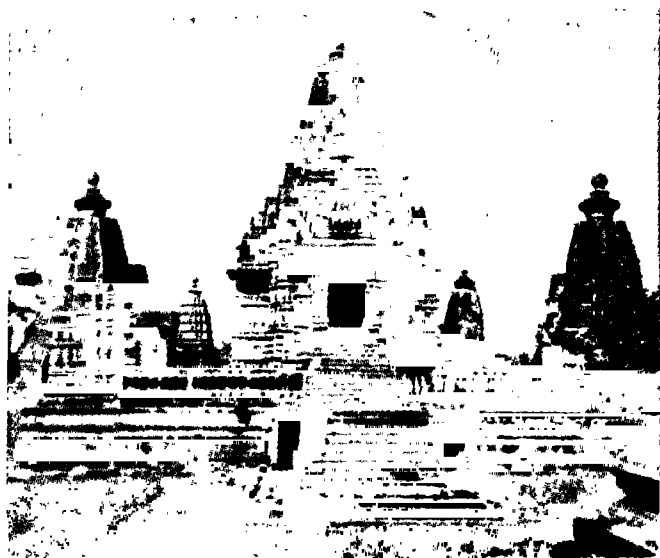
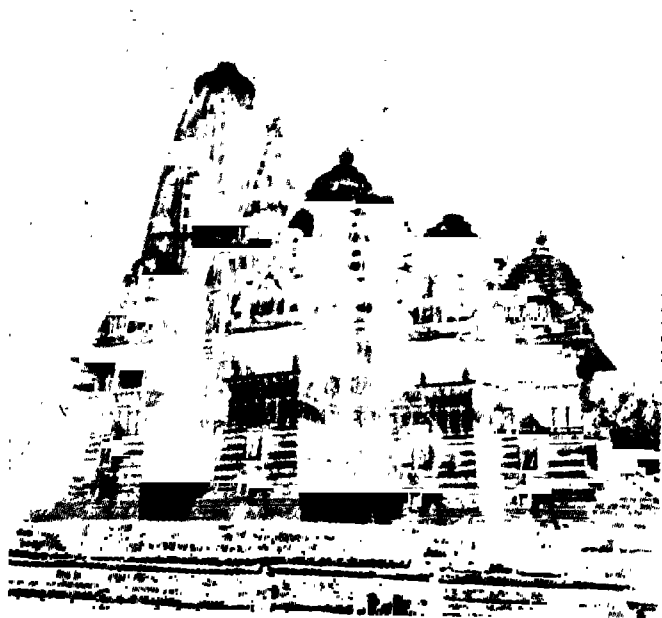
It would not thus be wrong to affirm that the temples at Khajurāho are the outcome of both royal and private piety and the assertion can be made with some amount of certainty in regards to the Pārśvanāth temple which records the numerous gifts of Vātikās by Pāhilā for the maintenance of the temple. Had Dhaṅga, to whose reign the inscription belongs, been the builder of the temple the question of any private donation for the maintenance of this temple would not have arisen for he was a very powerful ruler indeed.

THE TEMPLES

The number of temples now extant at Khajurāho is twenty-four and the total number of inscriptions found is nineteen. Local traditions however give a much larger number of temples, *i.e.*, eighty-five, and it is a pity that not even half of the temples have survived to bear testimony to the past grandeur and splendour of the place. These existing temples can be divided into three groups[2]—Western, Eastern and Southern. To the Western group belong Chausath Joginī, Lalguañ Kandariyā Mahādeva. Nandi, Pārvati, Lakshman, Mataṅgeśvara and Varāh temples ; to the Eastern group Brahmā, Vāman, Javāri, Kakrā Mārh, Ghantāi, Ādināth, Pārśvanāth and Śānti Nath temples and Dūladeo and Chaturbhuja temples belong to the Southern group

Dealing with the temples in chronological order the first would be the—

1. *Chausath Joginī*[3] temple which is built entirely of granite and which stands on a rocky eminence to the South-East of the Śivasāgar lake It stands on a massive platform comprised of an oblong countyard 104′ by 60′ surrounded by sixty-five cells of which only forty-two remains and those too in a ruined state. The images of goddesses Mahiṣāsuramardinī, Yoginī, Maheś-

1. Cunningham's Reports, Vol. II, p. 428.
2. Khajurāho Guide by B.L. Dhama, pp. 7-8.
3. Ibid., pp. ?-9.

Panchayatan Temple (Front view of Lakshman Temple)

Viswanath Temple

vari and the three-headed Brahmāṇī alone have survived. This temple is said to have been built in 900 A.D. and is supposed to be the earliest of the surviving temples.

2. The next in respect of its antiquity is the colossal image of *Hanūman*[1] which bears an inscription dated 316 of Harsha era or 922 A.D. It must have been originally enshrined in a temple which has not survived. This is the oldest known inscription found at Khajurāho. The statue of Hanūmān is now enshrined in a newly built small temple.

3. *Brahmā temple*[2] stands on the bank of Khajurāho Sāgar. It has a Pañchamukhī Śiva Liṅga mistaken by the local people to be that of Brahmā. It is of granite and sandstone both and this would seem to support the conclusion that it belongs to the later half of ninth or first half of tenth century. On the three sides of the sanctum are projections, the windows of which are fitted with thick stone lattices of varying patterns of a type rarely found in the temples of Khajurāho.

4. *The Lakshman*[3] *temple* probably built before 954 A.D. is in a much better state of preservation than any of the other temples at Khajurāho. The railings surrounding its plinth and the four adjacent temples on all its four corners are still in a good condition. The temple is 98′ by 45′ 3″ and is dedicated to Viṣṇu, whose three-headed, four-armed image 4′ 11″ in height stands in the sanctum. This temple also contains an inscription relating that the temple was built by Yaśovarman also known as Lakshavarman, the father of Dhaṅga. The inscription was recorded in the reign of Dhaṅga in 1011 Saṁvata or 954 A.D. On the plinth of the temple are depicted hunters with bows and arrows, spears, daggers, swords and shields hunting wild animals. One of these is said to be Revanta—the son of Sūrya (the Sun god) engaged in his favourite pastime of boar-hunt.

5. *The Viśvanāth*[4] *temple* dating probably from 1002 A.D. is similar in plan to the Kandariyā temple and is 89′ 1″ by 45′ 10″.

1. Khajurāho Guide by B.L. Dhama, p. 11.
2. Ibid., pp. 18-19.
3. Ibid., pp. 14-16.
4. Ibid., pp. 12-13.

At the end of the Ardhamaṅdap, just in front of the gate leading to the mandapin the inside walls, are inserted two Sanskrit inscriptions engraved on stone slabs. The larger of the two is dated 1059 Vikrama Saṁvat or 1002 A.D. and gives a genealogy ot the Chandella kings from Nannuka to Dhaṅga, the latter of whom, as the inscription says, built this temple to Śiva and installed in it an emerald Liṅga which has now been replaced by one of stone.

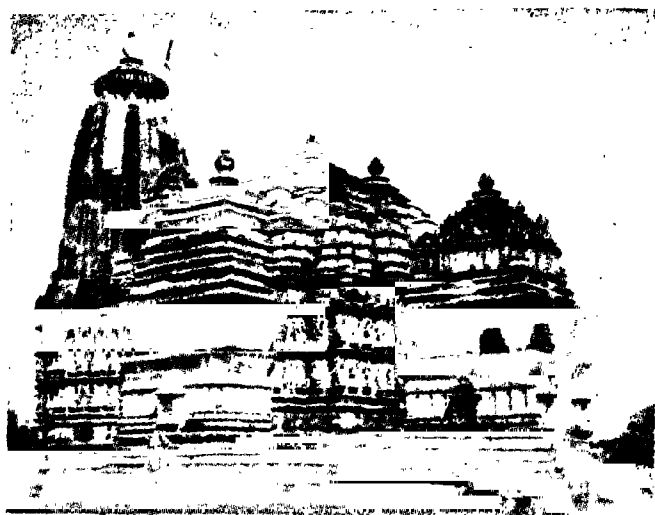
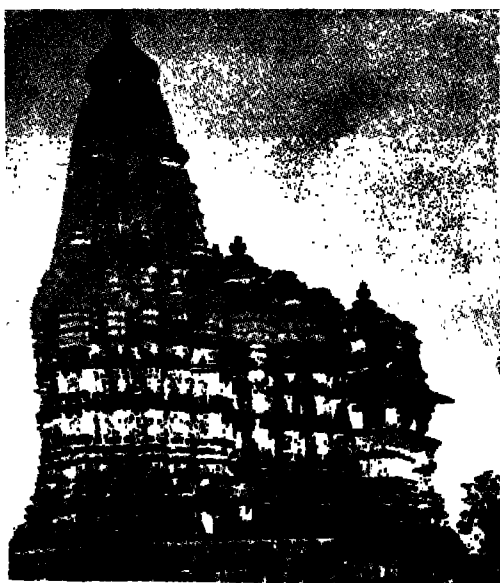
The other inscription[1] is said to have belonged to the now extinct temple of Vidyānta near Khajurāho. It is dated V.S. 1058 or 1001 A.D. and refers to the building up of a town by one Kokkala[1]. The scribe, as mentioned in the fifty-ninth verse[1] of the inscription, was named Yaśapāla.

6. Right in front facing the Viśvanāth temple is the *Nandī temple*[2] built for the Nandī Bull, the vehicle of Śiva, whose colossal image stands facing that of his master. The statue is 7′ 3″ long 6′ high and the temple is 31′ 3″ by 30′ 9″. It is of the same age as the Viśvanāth temple *i.e.*, 1002 A.D. for it shares the same base.

7. To the south of the Lakshman temple is the *Mataṇgeśvara temple*[3] having a number of steps leading to a high sanctum floor 24′ 6″ square inside and 35′ outside, lighted with oriel windows. The whole of the floor of the sanctum is occupied by a large Gauri-Patta 20′ 4″ in diameter 4′ 5″ high in which is set a highly polished colossal stone liṅga 3′ 8″ in diameter 8′ 4″ high. If this may be identified with the Markateśvara temple like the Pramathanāth which has been identified with Viśvanāth by Cunningham,[4] then it belongs to the reign of Ḍhaṅga and may be of 1002 A.D.

Now follows the description of those temples of the Western group which have been assigned to the 10th and 11th centuries by Cunningham[5] though they bear no inscriptions to this effect.

1. For details refer to page 15, footnote 2.
2. Ibid., p. 14.
3. Ibid., pp. 16-17.
4. Cunningham's Archaeological Survey Reports, Vol. II, p. 424.
5. Ibid., p. 416.

Nandi

Devi Jagdambi Temple

8. *Pārvati temple*[1] is a small shrine situated to the south-west of the Viśvanāth temple. In its sanctum stands a big image of Pārvatī.

9. The finest of the Hindu temples is the *Kandariā Mahādeva*[2] temple which excels the contemporary Liṅgarāja temple in the graceful contours of its tower. The temple is situated to the north of the Chausath Joginī temple and is the largest of the existing Khajurāho temples having a plinth area of 102′ 3″ by 66′ 10″ and standing 101′ 9″ in height. Cunningham assigns these temples[3] to the 10th and 11th centuries.

10. The *Mahadeva temple*[4] is a ruined shrine lying to the north of the Kaṅdariā temple whose sanctum has perished and the Eastern portico alone is intact. Probably it is as old as the Kaṅdariā Mahādevā temple.[5]

11. To the north beyond the Mahādēvā temple lies the *Dēvi Jagdambī temple*[6] which is planned very much like the Kaṅdariā Mahādēvā temple (belonging to the same period[7] as well 10th and 11th centuries) save that the pradakshiṇā passage round the sanctum and the maṅdap is lacking. An image of Lakshmī[8] was placed in its sanctum replacing that of her consort Viṣṇu. But due to ignorance, the image is now painted black and worshipped as Kāli or Devī Jagadambī. The temple excluding the steps is 73′ 5″ long and 42′ 1″ wide. The figure of Yama amongst the Dikpālas, placed on the south of the sanctum is remarkable for its terrible expression. The image of the three-headed and eight-handed Śiva in the lower niche of the facade is also worthy of notice.

12. The *Bharat Chitragupta*[9] temple is situated at a short distance to the North of Jagdambī temple, facing East. Its

1. B.L. Dhama p. 14.
2. Ibid., pp. 9-11.
3. Cunningham's Archaeological Survey Reports, Vol. II, p. 416.
4. B.L. Dhama, p. 11.
5. Cunningham's Archaeological Survey Reports, Vol. II, p. 420.
6. B.L. Dhama, p. 11.
7. Cunningham's Archaeological Survey Reports, Vol. II, p. 421.
8. B.L. Dhama, p. 11.
9. Ibid., p. 12.

dimensions are 74′ 9″ by 51′ 9″. The temple is dedicated to the Sun god whose image 5′ tall wearing top boots and driving a seven-horse chariot is placed in the sanctum. On the narrow frieze in the plinth are represented a party of stone carriers, an elephant fight, processions and hunting and dancing scenes. An eleven-headed figure of Viṣṇu can also be seen on the outside southern niche of the sanctum. The exact date of this temple is not known but it may have belonged to the 10th and 11th centuries like others. The *Choprā*[1] nearby is a square tank with fights of steps on all the four sides, situated about two hundred yards to the northwest of the Bharat Chitragupta temple. A small four-storeyed pavilion supported on pillars from all sides, only two storeys of which have survived, can be seen in the midst of the tank.

13. *Lalguaṇ Mahādēva*[2], which is about half a mile to the west of the Chausath Joginī temple, was dedicated to Mahādēva and its sanctum alone is existing.

14. Right in front of the Lakshman temple is a small shrine known as the Dēvī temple.[3]

15. To the right opposite of the Lakshman temple is the *Varāha temple*[4] having a huge image of the Varāha—the third incarnation of Viṣṇu. The temple is 20′ 6″ by 16′. The Boar statue standing in the middle is 8′ 9″ long, 5′ 9″ high carved of a single block of stone. All over the body and head of the Boar a number of Hindu gods and goddesses are carved. The figure of the earth goddess Prithvī, whom the deity had rescued from the depths of the ocean with his left tooth, is broken off but traces of her feet still remain on the pedestal. Beneath the Boar is the serpent deity (Nāgī) in devotional attitude.

Eastern Group

16. The *Pārśvanath temple*[5] a Jain structure, is the largest Jain temple at Khajurāho. It is 68′ 2″ by 34′ 11″ on the outside.

1. B.L. Dhama, p. 12.
2. Ibid., p. 9.
3. Ibid., p. 16.
4. Ibid., p. 17.
5. Ibid., pp. 21-23.

Parśvanāth Templ.

Vamar Temple

It faces east and peculiarly enough it has an additional sanctum to the south, unlike any other temple of the place. Formerly the image of Ādināth was there in the sanctum as the image of Bull carved on the pedestal signifies, but in 1860 the image of Pārśvanāth was installed there. Besides the many images of Jain and non-Jain gods and goddesses, female images applying toilet to different parts of their bodies are also depicted A small figure of a woman extracting a thorn from her foot is also depicted. An inscription on the gateway of the temple records the gifts of a Jain votary whose name was Pāhila and who was devoted to the Jina Vṛshabhanāth. The gift consists of some gardens given for the maintenance of the temple. The temple belongs to the reign of Dhaṅga *i e.*, some time between 950 to 999 A.D.

17. To the south of the Pārśvanāth temple stands a modern temple of *Śānti Nāth*[1] containing a colossal image 14′ high which is proclaimed by the Bull to be that of Ādināth. It also bears an inscription dated 1085 V.S. = 1028 A.D. Although the following temples of the Eastern Group have not been assigned any definite date but according to their style of construction they may be said to belong to the 10th and 11th century.

18. The *Ādināth temple*[2] lies to the north of Pārśvanāth temple. Over the entrance to the sanctum there is an image of the four-armed Jain goddess with other goddesses to her right and left In the pillared niches are the figures of gods and goddesses carrying various weapons of war and riding on their respective Vāhanas.

19. *Vāman temple*[3] is situated about a furlong ahead to the north-east of the Brahmā temple. Although it is similar in plan to both the Jagadambī and Chaturbhuja temples it is more massively built than either. Being 62′ 9″ by 45′ 3″ it contains in the sanctum an interesting image of Vāman 4′ 8″ high with other incarnations of Viṣṇu carved in its Prabhāvalī. Some of the important depictions in the niches of the upper row of the temple

1. B.L. Dhama, pp. 23-24.
2. Ibid., p. 21.
3. Ibid., p. 19.

are Brahmā with his consort on the south, marriage of Hara and Gaurī on the west and Viṣṇu with his consort on the north. Coquettish females and ferocious dragons are also depicted along with the many gods and goddesses.

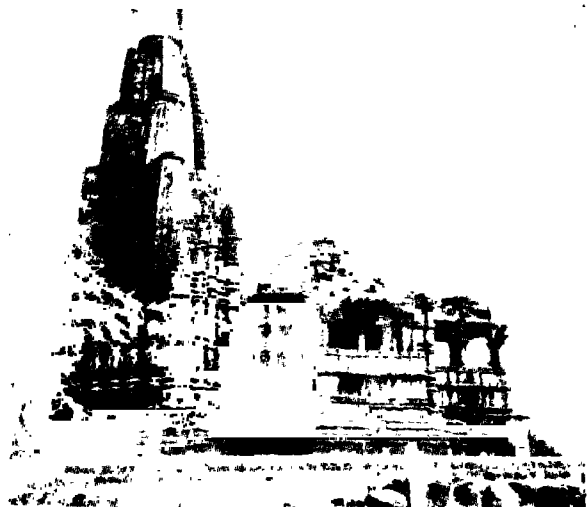
20. To the north-east of the Vāman temple lie the ruins of the Vaiṣṇava temple known as *Kākra*[1] *Mārh.* Its remnants are the entrance to the sanctum and the four pillars of the transept. None can fail to notice the chiselled sketch of a snake on the bench inside the eastern oriel window.

21. *Javārī temple*[2] lies in the midst of the fields lying to the north-east of this small village. The four-arms image of Viṣṇu is enshrined in the sanctum.

22. *Ghantāi*[3] is named after the bells suspended on chains which adorn the pillars of its portico. The shrine is said to have belonged to the Digambara Jain gods, for it yielded eleven Jain images which have been shifted to some other place from there. The images removed from here are dated 1205 and 1215 of Vikrama era. Hence its date may be taken to be some time before 1148 A.D.

Southern Group

23. *Dūlādeo temple*[4] is situated due south of the Ghantāi To the north of this temple stood the Nīlakantha temple whose position is still marked by a heap of large loose boulders. Regarding the origin of the name of this temple, people tell an interesting story of a bridegroom who suddenly fell down and died here and became a god and after whom the temple is named, "The holy bridegroom", *i.e.*, Dūlādeo. The temple is 69′ 2″ by 40′ 3″ and is dedicated to Śiva. Although the temple bears no inscription, still the word Vasala is repeated several times on the walls and other parts of the temple in the 10th century Nāgari character. Hence the temple may be said to belong[5] to the 11th or beginning of 12th century.

1. B.L. Dhama, p. 19.
2. Ibid., pp. 19-20.
3. Ibid., pp. 20-21.
4. Ibid., pp. 25-26.
5. Cunningham's Archaeological Survey Reports, Vol. X, p 13.

Daladeo Temple

Sanctum Image of Vishnu
(Chaturbhuj Temple)

24. Three furlongs to the south of Jātkāri village lies the Chaturbhuja temple[1]. The inscription (Epig. Ind. I, pp. 122-135) in the Lakshman temple shows that Yaśōvarman installed the image of Vaikunthanāth in the sanctum of a temple at Khajurāho. In his first visit, Cunningham by mistake gave the name of Chaturbhuja temple to the Lakshman temple as it enshrines the four-handed image of Vaikunthanāth in its sanctum. But in his second visit he corrected his mistake and identified the Jātkāri temple with that of Chaturbhuja temple. Hence Dr. Majumdar's assumption[2] that the Chaturbhuja temple was also built by Yaśōvarman does not seem to be correct. It faces west and is dedicated to Viṣṇu whose 9' tall four-armed image is enshrined in the sanctum. The principal figure of the middle row on the north is the lion-headed female, perhaps the Śakti of the Narasiṁha incarnation of Viṣṇu. Cunningham assigns[3] this temple to circa 1180—1200 A.D.

To the right front of Pārvatī temple stands the newly built Pratāpeśvara temple in the plinth of which many of the images belonging to the period of construction of the old temples of Khajurāho, have been inserted.

To the south of the Mataṅgēśvara temple is the Jardine Museum named after M.W.E. Jardine who built the museum in 1910. It now contains a number of images found in the ruined temples.

Many images of Khajurāho have been recently removed to the Gandhi Smārak at Chhattarpur. Those images have also been accounted for in the following pages as they belong to the same place and the same period.

This account shows that the temples were not only dedicated to the Pañchadevas of Brahmanism but also to Jain Tīrthaṁkaras. The huge Buddha image now lying in the museum also probably belonged to the sanctum of some shrine which has disappeared now. Thus besides the three popular

1. B.L. Dhama, p. 26.
2. The Age of Imperial Kannauj—Dr. R.C. Majumdar (1955), p. 84.
3. Cunningham's Archaeological Survey Reports, Vol. X, p. 16.

religions of India, namely, Hinduism, Jainism and Buddhism, even the important sects of Hinduism, *e.g.*, Śaivas, Vaiṣṇavas, Śaktas, Sauras, Gaṇapatyas, have been represented there and the temples dedicated to them (excepting the Gaṇesh and Buddhist temples) can be found even today. This fact shows that Khajurāho in its hey-day was not merely a sectarian tīrtha but a cosmopolitan centre of faith—a macrocosm of Indian religions. As such pilgrims of all faiths from far and near must have visited it. This is what makes the sculptures of these temples such a valuable source for studying the state of Indian society at the time since the Khajurāho artists had more than local material at hand to embody in their artistic work.

CHAPTER II

MAIN FEATURES OF RELIGIOUS LIFE AT KHAJURĀHO

Post-Vedic Hinduism has centred round the worship of images of a bewildering multitude of gods and goddesses, and their worship consists of elaborate rituals.

Iconographic texts of religious sanctity have laid down in meticulous detail how these divine images are to be constructed.

The iconic representation of these gods in Indian temples "may appear to the uninitiated as mere aberrations of the human art instinct, but to the appreciative and the initiated they are nothing more nor less than attempts through the medium of the language of symbolism to portray the different aspects of the principal deity."[1]

The idea of Pañchāyatan Pūja[2] (or the worship of five principal deities) appealed to the Hindu public "as the best solution of the problem of harmonising monotheism with polytheism and allaying communal bitterness." The depiction of the Ādityās, Dikpālas and many other gods on temples dedicated to the Pañchadēvas "also admits like the tolerant medieval Purāṇas that they too were worshipful."[3] The same spirit of religious toleration, which goes so far as to place Jain and Buddhist images in Brahmanical temples and *vice versa* explains the co-existence of Vaiṣṇava, Śaiva, Saura, Buddhist and Jain temples at Khajurāho.[4] Composite and fused deities like Harihara, Ardhanārīśvara, Śūrya-Nārāyaṇa, Sūrya-Brahmā and Śiva and the Trimūrti images also made their appearance at this great religious centre.[5] Even the cult of Rāma is indicated by the existence of the Hanūman temple at Khajurāho.

1. Age of Imperial Kannauj—R.C. Majumdar, Chapter XI, p. 314.
2. Ibid., p. 328.
3. Ibid., p. 329.
4. Ibid., p. 330.
5. Ibid., p. 331.

Sculptors gave "freer reins to fancy"[1] to depict many-handed and many-headed images.

Side by side with many other rare depictions which find place in the magnificent temples at Khajurāho, even the separate depictions of the Navagrahas are to be found which is rather a very rare thing.[2] The peculiar combination of āyudhas in the hands of the gods' images, does not tally exactly with any of the existing Sanskrit texts and in absence of the literature of the period it may be concluded that the sculptors were not only well versed in iconography but were bold enough to make striking diversions from the now available texts.[3]

We shall discuss in this chapter such general questions as intersect relations, religious toleration and modes of worship. The iconography of the Khajurāho temples shall be discussed in later chapters.

A. Forms of Worship

Khajurāho has at the present time twenty-four ancient temples dedicated to the principal Hindu deities. These temples throw a spotlight on the religious beliefs of the people of the 10th and 11th centuries—the period to which these temples belong.

The temples show that Viṣṇu, Maheśa, Sūrya, Gaṇeśa and Dēvī—the well-known Pañcha-parameśvaras along with their Śaktis or consorts were commonly worshipped at the time. Besides these, the god Hanūmān, different incarnations of Viṣṇu, the Dikpālas and Ādityas and the Dēvī in her various forms, were other divinities worshipped. Of the later-day Hindu gods only Gaṇeśa has no existing temple dedicated to Him at Khajurāho. There are a number of panels in these temples which exhibit in their small friezes the various prevalent modes of worship. The most complete is the one found lying on the bank of the Śivasāgar lake[4]. All of these Pūjā scenes depict Śiva in

1. Age of Imperial Kannauj—R.C. Majumdar, Chapter XI, p. 333.
2. Ibid., p. 351.
3. Refer to Chapters III and IV of this book for details.
4. Bank of Śhivasāgar lake.

his Liṅgam form. Hence the worship of Śiva in his aniconic form must have been the most common religious feature of the time and the Mattamayūras must have had strong influence in that area.

The big panel on the bank of the Śivasāgar lake (Fig. 1) shows twenty men in all—eleven on one side of the Liṅgam and nine on the other side. The Liṅga is placed on a high pedestal or Padma-Pītha, and the man nearest the Liṅgam has a Kalaśa in his hands from which he seems to be pouring water over it (for his hands are holding the Kalaśa turned to one side in the act of pouring). The second and the third men behind the former carry a Kalaśa in each of their hands. A small Kalaśa placed over a big one is shown behind the third man. The fourth man has folded his hands in Añjali pose, the fifth carries offerings in a big basket held high up near the shoulder on the palm of one hand and also held by the other hand, so that it may not fall down as it seems to be quite heavy. Behind this man, another is seen playing on the clarionet which he is holding in both his hands and blowing with his mouth. A man with the drum or Dholak hanging by his neck also joins in the concert playing the Dholak with both his hands, knees astride and feet close to each other in a beautiful pose. The Mahānāchnī (Narttikā) is shown in a dance pose beside the player on Dholak (Mardaṅgika). To her left, there is another man playing on the drum or Dholak which he holds at the centre with his left hand, beating it with his right one. Next to him stand the cymbal player and a man in devotional attitude with one hand on the Kati and the other in Vyākhyāna mudrā. Likewise the nine men standing to the left of the Liṅgam are holding garland (the first man), bell and a censor pot (second man), a bag of money (third man), one is blowing a conch shell (Śaṁkhika) (fourth man), two men are beating drums (fifth and sixth) which are held high above their shoulders by the left hands and are being beaten with sticks held in their right hands. A small figure of a child is also shown behind the sixth man while the seventh and eighth men are sounding the gong or Ghaṅtā. The ninth or the last man is standing like a guard with a sword resting on his shoulder, held in his right

hand and his left hand is resting on a big stone—he seems to be the Mahāpratihāra.

The other Puja scene[1] is depicted at the right back of the Lakshman temple. Here too the Liṅgam is placed in the centre with three men on its right and two on left side. The first man on the right is pouring water over the Liṅgam from a Kalaśa. The second man is also carrying a Kalaśa while the third stands empty handed trying to push the man before him with his left hand, in his eagerness to get the Darśaṇa of the god. The Liṅga is placed on a Padma-pītha and a canopy is tied with strings above it. The two men standing to the left of the Liṅgam carry garlands in their hands.

The third Puja scene[2] in the Lakshman temple depicts an ascetic, as his dress signifies, seated facing the Liṅga with two others sitting on each side of him. They wear nothing but the loin cloth and their hair are knotted at the back of their necks. Their open mouths show that they are reciting mantras.

In the Viśvanāth temple a man[3] is shown worshipping the Liṅga by reciting mantras while another stands by with a bowl of offerings.

The Kaṅdariā temple depicts the Liṅgam being[4] worshipped by twelve couples of Gandharvas with garlands in their hands flying along with their consorts.

These Puja scenes help us to conclude that men used to go for worship with musical bands, the most common musical instruments used for the purpose being the conch shell[5], Ghaṅtā and Dholak.[6] Men and women went for worship with offerings[7] in their hands, garlands[8] or a bag of coins for charity[9] to the temple.

1. Rt back out Lak T. (small frieze).
2. Back Sm frieze Lak T.
3. Inner pradak Vis N T & Rt balcony of Ardhamaṅdap Vis N T.
4. Sm front frieze Maṅdap Kaṅd. T.
5. Rt corner Sānti N T, Museum.
6. Sivasāgar Lake's Panel.
7. Vis N T Rt corner Sānti N T (offerings of mangoes).
8. Kaṅd. T scene described above, Base Jag. T.
9. Sivasāgar Lake Panel.

In the Śānti Nāth temple, presumably, a king,[1] as he is seated on an elephant, is shown going to worship the Tīrthaṁkara.

The Jagadambī temple shows a woman[2], who is most probably a queen with her bodyguards ahead, going for worship with the plate of offerings held in her right hand.

Meditation also seems to have formed a part of worship as in the Viśvanāth temple scene—men with eyes closed and hands joined in Añjali pose are seen meditating. The Jardine Museum also presents an image of a Bhakta (Fig. 2) seated with one leg folded and arms joined in Añjali pose. The Jain temple and the Kaṅdariā temple present two scenes of ascetics[3] worshipping and throwing offerings on a table placed in front.

The Śānti Nāth temple presents a peculiar scene of two men,[4] one doing prāṇāyāma with his right hand on the nose and the other holding something in his hands which are folded over his stomach.

Even women[5] are found meditating in the Añjali hasta-pose in the Viśvanāth and Śānti Nāth[6] temples. In the latter, a number of women are sitting in this pose with two Mangala Kalaśa (Kalaśas having coconuts on them) placed in front of them.

Like the Mahānāchni (Narttikā) and the Mahāpratihāra, the huge temples of Khajurāho must have been entrusted to a managing body for proper care and maintenance.

B. Intersect Relations

It would seem that to bring about a reconciliation among these different sects, the religious reformers of the 10th and 11th centuries thought of the depiction of traditional Trimūrti god which implied the integration of the three main aspects of

1. Rt corner Śānti N T.
2. Ardhamaṅdap Jag. T.
3. Rt corner Śānti N T Pūjā scene in Kaṅd. T.
4. Rt corner Śānti N T.
5. Back inner pradak Vis. N T.
6. Sanctum gate of the small shrine of Mahāvīra to the Rt inside of Śānti N T.

the god-head into one composite image. Under the influence of this idea, the sculptors of Khajurāho went so far as to depict three and eleven-faced images of Viṣṇu, six-faced Śiva and composite image of Brahmā, Sūrya and Śiva—the three principal deities of the Hindu pantheon. "Whenever the earth is overburdened with sins, it was held, the God incarnates Himself to rescue her and to protect saintly people from the grips of the wicked."

"Yadā yadā hi dharmasya glanirbhavati Bhārata,
Abhyutthānamadharmasya tadātmānaṁ srijāmyaham".[1]

There are ten such incarnations of Viṣṇu. The people of the region where some of these incarnations were born held the particular form of god sacred and started worshipping it. They also professed that in the particular incarnation they worshipped, the God was manifest with all His divine powers, while in others only a part of His powers was manifested. This gave rise to religious disputes and ten different sects each worshipping one of the ten incarnations of Viṣṇu arose.

To show the oneness of these sects, the Trimūrti[2] image of Viṣṇu with a Lion's face on the right, a human face in the centre and a Varāha (boar) face on the left was designed by the sculptors. Even an eleven-headed image[3] of Viṣṇu combining all the ten incarnations in one with the human face of Viṣṇu (signifying Viṣṇu's Pūrṇāvatāra) in the centre (11th face) was also designed. This image not only shows the broad-mindedness of the sculptors but also displays their catholicity of faith. Buddha being one of the ten incarnations of Viṣṇu, the image also aims at unity between Hinduism and Buddhism.

Thus the preliminary stage of religious unity was reconciliation amongst the worshippers of one and the same god.

Harihara

A step further was taken by seeking to unite Viṣṇu with Śiva. After the development of the Paurāṇic form of religion,

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1. Srimadbhāgvatgitā—Chapter IV, 7. śloka.
2. Innerpradak. Back niche Kand. T. (12-handed image) Sanctum Lak T (8-handed image).
3. Rt out. Bharat Chitragupta T.

Viṣṇu and Śiva became the two most popular deities and their worshippers came to be known as the Vaiṣṇavas and Śaivas. Each of these sects considered its god to be superior to that of the other and to allay the bitterness rising therefrom the form of Harihara (Hari meaning Viṣṇu and Hara Śiva) was conceived of. He is commonly known as Bālāji in the North and Veṅkalēśa in the South India.[1] According to Sanskrit authorities, Harihara should be Śiva in the right half and Viṣṇu in the left Of his four hands one should be in the Abhaya mudrā, two must hold Śaṁkha and the Chakra respectively and the fourth should be in the Kati-hasta pose. The right arms should have Kaṅkaṇas of snake called Bhujaṅgavalaya and the left ones should have gold Kaṅkaṇas.

The image of Harihara at Khajurāho has four arms, one in the Varada[2] mudrā, holding the Triśūla, Chakra and Śaṁkha (Fig. 3) or rosary[3] in the rest ; another image has Triśūla in second hand, the third hand broken, and the Śaṁkha in the fourth. Triśūla here is the characteristic āyudha of Śiva and Chakra that of Viṣṇu.

Ardhanārīśvara

A still more striking form of this concept of the unity of the god-head was the conception of Ardhanārīśvara which attempted to abolish sex distinctions among the divinities. Here was sculptured an image half-male and half-female which could be worshipped both by Śāktas and Śaivas. The Paurāṇic myth, that god Śiva took such a form to satisfy his extreme desire for his consort Satī, lent weight to this concept. Now Ardhanārīśvara has become the god of marriage worshipped by the newly weds who seek to attain true marital bliss through cordial relations between the couple.

Such Ardhanārīśvara images are either ten or four-handed. Of the ten-handed image, eight arms are broken The rest two carry drinking[4] vessel and Ḍamarū.

1. Gopi Nath Rao. Vol. I, Part I, p. 270.
2. Lt out Vis'. N T Museum (4th arm broken).
3. Lt out Dūlādeo T.
4. Lt inner pradak Vis. N T.

The four-handed image (Fig. 4) has its first hand in the Varada pose,[1] and holds the Triśūla, the Darpaṇa and the Kamaṅdalu in the other three hands. The Bull, Vāhana of Śiva, and the Lion that of Pārvatī, are also depicted.

C. Religious Toleration

The depiction of Buddhist and Jain images on Brahmanical temples and Brahmanical images on Jain temples seems to show that the master-builders of the beautiful shrines at Khajurāho had surprising catholicity of religious views and patronised Jainism, Buddhism and Brahmanism (the three main religions of India) impartially. The fact is further corroborated by the existence of a few Jain temples at Khajurāho among the twenty-two temples, most of which are Brahmanical in character. Amongst the eighty-five temples built originally by the Chandellas, there may have been some Buddhist shrines too as the huge Buddha statue now placed in the museum would seem to indicate. The image most probably was originally enshrined in the sanctum of some formal edifice now non-existent.

Not only the rulers but the local people at large seem to have had equal regard for all the faiths because the temples of different sects exhibit the same skilful execution of images, and other constructional details which shows that the same class of sculptors and craftsmen built them all.

The adoption of gods and goddesses belonging to different religious systems shows that there was complete harmony between the different sects in the Chandella kingdom. Further, it is quite probable that the Hayagrīva images so commonly depicted may be there due to the influence of Buddhism on Hinduism because the Saptasatikā Hayagrīva[2] has been connected with Amitābha of the Buddhist pantheon.

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1. Sm T on Lt back of Lak T, Lt out Chbh T (seated image). Back inner pradak Kaṅd T (last 3 hands broken).

2. The Age of Imperial Kannauj, 1955. R.C. Majumdar, Chapter XI, p. 281.

CHAPTER III

KHAJURAHO ICONOGRAPHY

The predominant feature of religious life at Khajurāho during the 10th and 11th centuries was thus the worship of the later day Paurāṇic gods. This feature is so much to the forefront that even in the Jain temples at Khajurāho, except for the central image enshrined in the sanctum which is naturally that of a tīrthaṁkara, the images sculptured all round within the edifice are those of Brahmanical[1] gods. Again, although the tutelary deity of the Chandellas was Śiva, the various temples are dedicated variously to different Hindu gods. For example, the Viśvanāth, the Kaṅdariā, the Mataṅgēśvara, and the Dūlādeo temples are dedicated to Śiva ; the Chaturbhuja, the Lakshman, the Javārī and the Vāman temples are dedicated to Viṣṇu, the Bharat Chitragupta to Sūrya, the Jagadambī and the Chausath Joginī to Śakti, and the extinct Gaṇeśa temple, in front of the Chausath Joginī, to Gaṇeśa[2]. As has been already pointed out earlier, this fact points to the currency of a composite Pañchdēva-Upāsanā at Khajurāho, and to a remarkable harmony of religious life in the region. This chapter deals with the iconography of the three most popular deities out of the above five, namely, Viśṇu, Śiva and Śakti along with their various forms. The iconography of the other two, *i.e.*, Gaṇeśa and Sūrya, is discussed along with that of other minor deities in Chapter IV.

The great variety of each type of Hindu icon found at Khajurāho would appear to show that Indian iconography was passing through a significant evolution and it is worthy of note that Khajurāho seems to have been the chief centre of this development in Northern India. The sculptors at Khajurāho

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1. This may also have been due to the adoption of Brahmanical gods by the Jains.

2. Arch. Survey Report by Cunningham, Vol. II, p. 418.

seem to have been experimenting with novel methods as compared with the iconographers of other centres, for at Bhuvaneśvara we do not find any such varieties of iconic practice although the temples constructed there also belong to the same era. While at Bhuvaneśvara, the gods depicted are mostly single-headed (except Brahmā at Purī), twin armed[1] and twin legged (one single exception to this being the one-legged image of Śiva in Brahmeśvara and Liṅgarāja temples), at Khajurāho they are many headed, many handed and many legged.[2] One other notable fact is that the Khajurāho Iconographists mostly neglect to exhibit the Vāhanas of the gods while at Bhuvaneśvara they are meticulously depicted in complete accordance with the Paurāṇic texts.

As regards the Āyudhas, or the attributive "weapons", there is again a notable difference in Khajurāho iconography from the Paurāṇic forms and only a few of the characteristic "weapons" have been retained to distinguish the icons. In the minor forms of Viṣṇu, for instance, the combination of the Paurāṇic "weapons" has been retained in three hands only while in the fourth he has been given any one of seven articles[3] which do not form the characteristic weapons of any particular god. This arrangement again is seldom repeated twice. The same is the case with Śiva and other gods. This notable difference from the Paurāṇic conventions gives us a greater variety of icons at Khajurāho and enhances very greatly the interest of the study to a scholar of iconography.

The gods in the Khajurāho temples have however been identified for purposes of this book on the basis of the distinguishing weapons or marks as given in the Sanskrit texts like Āgamas and Purāṇas irrespective of the arrangement of the

1. Heads up to eleven, hands sixty-four and legs four.
2. Except one eight-handed image of Siva in Tandava Nritya in Mukteśvara temple and a four-handed image of Brahma at Puri.
3. The common poses are Varada (denotes benediction), Abhaya (denotes protection from evil), and Kaṭihasta (denotes position of rest) poses and the common articles are Pustaka (indicates the Vedas or knowledge), Kamal, Fruit or Phala (both indicate offerings by worshippers) and Ghaṭa (indicates ascetic power)

prescribed āyudhas. Secondly, the iconography of Khajurāho itself has been considered; that is, an image complete with its Vāhana and furnished with all the distinctive weapons in its hands has been taken for a standard. Any other image having the same weapons, in similar or different order, has been identified with the former even if its Vāhana is missing. In the case of Viṣṇu, for instance, we see that His twenty-four minor forms are depicted through twenty-four different permutations of his four attributive weapons—Śaṁkha, Chakra, Gadā and Padma. If the arrangement of any three is in conformity with the Sanskrit text Rūpamaṅdana[1], then in spite of a difference in the case of the fourth article, as laid down by the conventions, the idol has been identified with the god Viṣṇu or his specific forms as the āyudha in the fourth hand becomes automatically fixed. These problems have made the iconographic study of each particular god difficult and complicated. The individual god-heads will be dealt with separately in the following pages and their various forms and incarnations will now be discussed in detail.

Section A—The Vaiṣṇava Images

The Khajurāho temples dedicated to Viṣṇu[2] or his avatārs exhibit, as has already been indicated, several features. The ancient iconographic texts like the Rūpamaṅdana[3] lay down that the Viṣṇu image should carry four "āyudhas" in its four hands, namely, Śaṁkha, Chakra, Gadā and Padma. Permutations in this standard convention have been used at Khajurāho to depict the twenty-four forms of Viṣṇu at Khajurāho. Images with all the four or three or two prescribed āyudhas are found there.

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1. Elements of Hindu Iconography by Gopinath Rao, Vol. I, Pt. I, p. 229.

2. Originally, Vaishnavism was known as the Ekantika Dharma. Subsequently, with minor differences, it came to be known as the 'Pancharatrika' dharma, the 'Nārāyanīya' dharma. and soon after the beginning of the Christian Era, the abhiras added the worship of Vasudeva Krishna, a cowherd God, to it. It came to be known in Gupta times as the 'Bhagwata' dharma when it became popular both with foreigners and Indians alike and temples arose for his worship at Ellora, Deogarh, Seipur and Haipur.

3. Elements of Hindu Iconography by Gopinath Rao, Vol. I, Pt. I, p. 229.

The following description of the images will make this clearer. The study has been divided into three categories, namely, (a), (b) and (c). In the first he is shown with all the characteristic āyudhas in his four hands ; in the second, one hand is depicted in one of the common mudrās, having the characteristic āyudhas in the remaining three, in the third category only two of his hands hold the characteristic āyudhas. The āyudhas have been described in the clock-wise order—right lower first, right upper second, left upper third and left lower fourth. Mostly standing images have been found ; in case of seated ones notes are added in the reference.

Keśava (b)

Viṣṇu in his form as Keśava[1]—His first hand is in Abhaya[2] or Varada[3] pose holding a rosary in the latter case and carrying Śaṁkha, Chakra and Gadā in the remaining three hands.

Mādhava (b)

Mādhava is depicted with his consort Tushti, having Gadā,[4] Chakra and Śaṁkha in first three hands with the fourth in Āliṅgana pose. Tushti holds a Lotus stalk in her left hand.

Viṣṇu (a)

In the Lakshman temple Viṣṇu has been depicted[5] with Gadā, Padma, Śaṁkha and Chakra.

Trivikrama (a)

Trivikrama[6] is shown standing along with his consort Śānti[7], carrying Padma, Gadā, Chakra and Śaṁkha. The fourth hand besides carrying the Śaṁkha is also in Āliṅgana pose.

Trivikrama (b)

The first hand of Trivikrama in another depiction is shown

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1. Gopinath Rao, Vol. I, Part. I, p. 229.
2. Back out Lak. T.
3. Rt out Chaturbhuj T.
4. Rt out Pārs. N T.
5. Lt out Lak. T.
6. Temple on Rt back of Lak. T. and top of sanctum gate Ch. Bh. T. (In last two cases the image is seated).
7. As given in I chapter of IIIrd Rātri of Nāradapancharātriyā gama—Ibid., p. 233.

in either Varada[1] (Fig. 5) or Abhaya[2] mudrās carrying Gadā, Chakra and Śaṁkha in the remaining three.

Hrishīkēśa (a)

Hṛishīkēśa carries Gadā,[3] Chakra, Padma and Śaṁkha in his four hands.

Hrishīkēsa (b)

The god is shown with the first hand in Abhaya[4] or Varada pose[5], with rosary in the latter case, carrying Chakra, Padma and Śaṁkha in the rest.

Padmanābha (a)

Padmanābha (Fig. 7) has the first hand in the Abhaya[6] pose or holds Śaṁkha[7], and the Padma, Chakra and Gadā in the other hands (Fig. 6).

Saṁkārshaṇa (a)

The god holds Gadā[8], Śaṁkha, Padma and Chakra in his four hands.

Saṁkārshaṇa (b)

The first hand of the god in the image on Viśvanāth temple is placed on Kati[9]. Śaṁkha, Padma and Chakra are held in the remaining three hands. The same god with the Nāga[10] canopy at the back is shown holding[11] the legs of a bearded man in his lower two hands and beating him with the plough held in upper two.

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1. Lt out Vis. N T Rt Inner Pradak and Rt out Kaṅd. T., Museum. Sm T on Rt front of Lak. T (shown with a Nāga canopy).
2. Lt out Vis. N. and Lak. Ts. Sm T. at rt back of Vis. N T, Sm T on rt front of Lak. T., contre sanctum gate Javārī T (seated), Lt out Jag T. (with the first hand broken).
3. Lt out Jag. and Lak. Ts.
4. Lt out Vām. T.
5. Rt and Lt out Vām. T.
6. Lt out Lak. T.
7. Lt out Lak. T.
8. Rt out Pārs. N and Lt out Vām. Ts.
9. Lt out Vis. N. T.
10. R.G. Bhandarkar, p. 64.
11. Rt inner pradak Lak. T.

Purshottama (a)

Purushōttama (Fig 8) holds Chakra[1], Padma, Śaṁkha and Gadā in his four hands.

Purushottama (b)

The god has Chakra[2], Padma and Śaṁkha in his first three hands while the fourth is placed on Kati.

In the second image of this category the god has first hand in Varada[3] pose carrying a rosary while the rest hold Padma, Śaṁkha and Gadā.

Achyuta (b)

The god has first hand in Varada[4] pose carrying Padma, Chakra and Śaṁkha in the rest. In the second image of this type the god is lying on a Śeshanāga Sayyā having Gadā[5] in the first hand, the second hand supports his head and the remaining two carry Chakra and Śaṁkha. From the naval of the god springs forth a lotus on which Brahmā is seated.

Janārdana (b)

The first hand of the god is in Abhaya[6] or Āliṅgana[7] mudrā as the consort stands to his right while the remaining three hold Chakra, Śaṁkha and Gadā. The consort has a Śaṁkha in her right hand.

Upēndra (b)

The god stands along with his consort having Śaṁkha[8], Gadā and Chakra in his first three hands, fourth being placed in Āliṅgana mudrā.

Hari (b)

The first hand of the image is broken[9] while the remaining three have Chakra, Padma and Gadā.

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1. Lt out Jag and Lak Ts.
2. Back out Lak T.
3. Rt out Vām T.
4. Rt out Vām T.
5. Gandhi Smārak Chhattarpur—The image has been removed from Khajurāho recently. Museum (with hands and naval lotus broken).
6. Lt out Jag. T.
7. Rt out Pārs. N T.
8. Museum. Rt out Jag. T.—(Seated image, consort having a lotus in her hand). Lt out Bh Ch. T. (Seated, consort with an Ārasī in her hand).
9. Lt out Lak T.

Śrikrishṇa (b)

The first hand of the god has been placed on Kaṭi[1] holding Gadā, Padma and Chakra in the rest.

The first hand of this Āliṅgana mūrti has Śaṁkha[2], Gadā and Padma in the first three hands while the fourth is placed in Āliṅgana mudrā. His consort holds a lotus-stalk in her left hand.

The above description shows that thirteen out of twenty-four minor forms have been depicted here. It is quite probable that the sculptors of these temples were familiar with all the twenty-four forms which will be proved by the description of the images belonging to category (c).

This category (c) can be further subdivided into three types: (i) The first type has first hand in the above given common mudrās with Ghaṭa in the fourth, (ii) the second type has one of the four hands broken with the other in common mudrā while in the (iii) third type two of the hands are broken.

(c) (i). The image[3] having the first hand in Varada mudrā[4], carrying Śaṁkha, Padma and Ghaṭa in the remaining three may be either *Madhusūdana* or Śaṁkarśaṇa.

The image in the small temple retains the usual pose and āyudha in the first and fourth hands while the upper two hands have Gadā and Chakra[5]. It may be identified with Trivikrama or Upēndra.

The upper two hands of this image in Vāman temple have Śaṁkha and Chakra[6] while the lower two are as above. The image may be that of *Vāsudeva* or Keśava.

The images described below also belong to the first category but here the fourth hand is in Āliṅgana mudrā and does not carry the Ghaṭa as above.

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1. Museum.
2. Back out Vām T.
3. In the absence of Vāhana this image could not be identified with Varuna as described by B.C. Bhattacharya in "Indian Images" on p. 28 where the god carries Pāśa, Śaṁkha, Kamal, Ghaṭa.
4. Rt and Lt out Vāman T., Rt out Viś. N. T.
5. Sm. T on left back of Lak. T. (Gate seated image).
6. Rt and Lt out Vām. T.

Note. The italicised names of the God indicate, that they have not been found in categories (*a*) and (*b*).

The god with consort on the wall of Kandariā temple has first hand in Varada[1] and fourth in Āliṅgana mudrās. The second and third hands hold Gadā and Śaṁkha. The image seems to be of *Aniruddha* with his consort Ratī or of *Adhokshaja* and his consort.

The Garuḍa Vāhī (seated) god in the Lakshman Temple with the first hand resting on knee and fourth in Āliṅgana mudrā, holds Padma and Gadā[2] in his second and third hands. He may be *Nārāyaṇa* or *Narasiṁha* with consort according to the arrangement of the āyudhas. But as the face is that of a human being and not of a lion, therefore, the image would appear to be that of Nārāyaṇa and Lakshmī.

The image of Viṣṇu in the Vāman temple is depicted with the first hand in Varada pose, holding Chakra[3], Padma and Ghaṭa in the remaining three. It may be taken to be that of Viṣṇu on the basis of Viśvakarmaśāstra as quoted by Gopi Nath Rao.[4]

c (ii). The image in the Museum has Chakra[5] in the first hand, the second is broken, the third has a Śaṁkha and the fourth is Kaṭi-avalaṁbita. He may be either Purushōttama or *Aniruddha*.

On the Lakshman temple the image has been depicted with first hand in Abhaya mudrā[6], second is holding Gadā, third one is broken and fourth has a Śaṁkha. It may be either of *Govinda* or of Trivikrama.

The image having first hand in Varada mudrā[7], holding Śaṁkha and Padma, in the other two *i.e.*, second and third, with its fourth hand broken may be identified either with Saṁkarśaṇa or *Madhusūdana*.

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1. Lt inner pradak Kand. T.
2. Sm T on Rt back of Lak. T.
3. Lt out Vām. T.
4. Elements of Hindu Iconography by Gopi Nath Rao, Vol. I, Pt. II, p. 310.
5. Museum.
6. Left out Lak. T.
7. Lt out Vām. T.

The image holding Śaṁkha[1] and Padma in the first two hands, the third one broken and with the fourth in Kaṭi pose may be that of Padmanābha or *Nārāyaṇa.*

The god's image in the Kaṇḍariā Mahādeva Temple having first hand in Abhaya Mudrā[2], holding Gadā and Chakra in the other two hands and with the fourth one mutilated may be that of Trivikrama or Upēndra.

(c) (iii). The image of a god holds Gadā[3] and Chakra in first and second hand while its third and fourth hands are broken. It may be either that of Trivikrama or Mādhava.

The first and third hands of this image are broken while second and fourth carry Śaṁkha[4] and Chakra. It may be either of Saṁkarśaṇa or *Dāmodara.*

The image having Gadā[5] in first and Padma in the fourth hands with the second and third ones broken, may be either that of *Vāsudeva* or of Mādhava.

Śeśaśāyī Viṣṇu

The god's image (Fig. 9) in the Museum is lying on a Śeśanāga Śaiyyā and has its second and fourth hands broken. There is Gadā[6] in its first hand and Chakra in the fourth.

Thirteen forms of Viṣṇu out of the twenty-four traditional ones have been depicted at Khajurāho in accordance with the texts as given in categories 'a' and 'b'. If we include the depictions of category 'c' as well we find twenty-one forms in all depicted there ; Vāman, Śridhara and Pradyumna alone are missing. As an incarnation Vāman also finds place there. Hence it would not be wrong to assert that the sculptors were familiar with all the twenty-four forms of Viṣṇu.

Apart from the various human forms differing according to differences of attributes, Viṣṇu was credited with having assumed

1. Museum.
2. Lt out Kanḍ. T., Ardhamaṅdap Kanḍ. T.
3. Museum.
4. Lt out Vām. T.
5. Museum.
6. Museum.

Six[1], Twelve[2] and Twenty-four[3] incarnations, some of which were in animal forms. Among the human incarnations of Viṣṇu, the Jaina tīrthaṁkar Rshabha, and the Buddha have also been included by the Bhāgvata.

1. Matsyāvatāra

According to the description[4] given in the Mahābhārata and the Agnipurāṇa, the Matsyāvatāra of Viṣṇu should be depicted as half fish and half man with the four hands in Varada and Abhaya mudrās (1st and 4th) and holding Śaṁkha and Chakra in the upper two hands, and wearing the Kirīṭa mukuṭa. But the icon of this incarnation at Khajurāho is altogether different. Here the god[5] is depicted sitting in Yogāsana on a fish with the lower two hands placed one upon the other holding Gadā and Chakra in the upper two hands (Fig. 10).

2. Kūrmāvatāra

According to Bhāgvata purāna[6] the *Kūrmāvatāra* like the Matsyāvatāra should be half tortoise and half man carrying the same āyudhas in a similar arrangement. At Khajurāho in the Kūrmāvatāra[7] too Viṣṇu is seen seated on a Tortoise in yogāsana with āyudhas like his Matsyāvatāra depiction at Khajurāho.

3. Varāhāvatāra

According to the authorities[8] *Varāha*, the third incarnation of Viṣṇu, may be in three forms - Bhūvarāha, Yajñavarāha and Pralayavarāha. Of these three, the last two are depicted in a sitting posture while the first one should show the god as holding the legs of Pṛithvī and be smelling her. The Varāhāvatāra images of Viṣṇu found at Khajurāho do not fall under any one of the above three types as the god there is mostly depicted in

1. The Harivaṁśa.
2. Vāyu Purāna Chapter 97, w 72 ff.
3. Bhāgvata Purāṇa—Also Cf. R.G. Bhandarkar Chapter XI, p. 58-60 & 65.
4. Elements of Hindu Iconography—Gopi Nath Rao, Vol. I, Pt. I, p. 124.
5. Lt inner pradak Lak. T.
6. Gopi Nath Rao—Vol. I, Pt. I, p. 127.
7. Rt and back inner pradak Lak. T, Sanctum gate of Sm T on Lt front of Lak. T.
8. Gopi Nath Rao—Vol. I, Pt. I, p. 128.

standing posture with the image of Pṛithvī sitting on the elbow of his left upper hand while he is only looking at her and not smelling her as Bhūvarāha should (Fig. 11). In this respect the Varāhāvatāra images of Khajurāho resemble the Varāha stone of Phalodi (Jodhpur dist. Marwara) belonging to the Chālukya-Pallava period.

The god[1] at Khajurāho has his arms on the Kaṭi, holding Gadā, Chakra and Śaṁkha with the Pṛithvī seated on his third arm in which he holds Chakra. We may note here that this image has been given the arrangement of āyudhas pertaining to Trivikrama and not Viṣṇu.

The other image[2] has the first hand on Kaṭi with Gadā, Śaṁkha and Chakra in the rest. This order of āyudhas belongs to Adhokshaja.

Varāha Temple

The huge Varāha image (Fig. 12) in the Varāha temple, with hundreds of other deities carved on it, with a Nāgī worshipping it and Pṛithvī, whom he had rescued, carved on the same pedestal, depicts the Varāha incarnation of Viṣṇu.

4. Narasiṁhāvatāra

The images of *Narasiṁha* found at Khajurāho have two[3], four[4], eight[5] and twelve[6] hands (Fig. 13). He is shown sitting with a Lion face tearing off the body of Hiraṇākashyapa lying in his lap, with both his claws. Most of his hands other than the lower two are mutilated. The description of eight and twelve handed Narasiṁha is to be found in the Vaikhānasā-gama.[7]

5. Vāmanāvatāra

The *Vāmanāvatāra* of Viṣṇu according to authorities[8] should

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1. Sm T on Lt front of Viś. N T and Sm. T. on Rt back of Lak. T, Rt out Vām. and back out Chbh. Ts.
2. Rt out Jag., Lt. Bh. Ch. T.
3. Rt out small frieze Viś. N T.
4. Back out Vām. T.
5. Back inner pradak Kanḍ T, Sm T on rt front of Lak. T (2 hands tearing off the body and rest broken).
6. Back inner pradak Lak. T. (Besides 2 all hands are broken).
7. Gopi Nath Rao—Vol. I, Pt. I, p. 145.
8. Gopi Nath Rao—Vol. I, Pt. I, p. 161.

be fifty-six aṅgulas in height. He should have an umbrella and a Kamaṅdalu. The Vaikhānasāgama represents him as a deformed dwarf in the form of an ill-shaped man with a hunched back, portruding joints of bones and having a big belly. The Vāmana images found at Khajurāho belong to the second type for having the same proportion ; they vary in size from images one foot and a half to four feet, in height.

He is mostly depicted with four hands carrying two or more attributive weapons of Viṣṇu with the remaining hands in Varada (Fig. 14) or Abhaya mudrās.

The four feet tall image of this god[1] is enshrined in the sanctum of the Vāman temple having a big halo (prabhāmaṅdalī) at the back in which the remaining nine incarnations of Viṣṇu (Buddha being one of them) are depicted. One hand of the image is in Varada mudrā with the other broken.

The four handed images of Vāman are depicted with the first hand in Varada mudrā, the remaining three holding Padma, Padma and Śaṁkha[2] ; or having Gadā, Chakra and Śaṁkha.[3]

6. Paraśurāmāvatāra

The Paraśurāma incarnation of Viṣṇu, according to Madhyamadaśatāla[4], should have Paraśu in right hand with the left one in Sūchī hasta pose. At Khajurāho, Paraśurāma has been depicted with four hands instead of two. According to Agnipurāṇa and Vishṇudharmottara[5] the four handed images of Paraśurāma should carry Paraśu, Khadga, Arrow and Bow. The Khajurāho images of this god are depicted with Paraśu, Śaṁkha, Padma and Chakra[6]—the last three of which are the characteristic āyudhas of Saṁkarshaṇa.

1. Sanctum Vām. T. Sm T on the left front of Viś. N T (No Prabhāmaṅdalī here)

2. Museum (4th hand broken), Sm T back Viś. N. T., back out Vām. and Jag. Ts.

3. Gāndhismārak Chattarpur, Museum (2 hands broken) Lt of Maṅdap Lak. T. (2 hands broken).

4. Back out Pārś. N. T.

5. Gopi Nath Rao—Vol. I, Pt. I, p. 181.

6. Ibid.

Two more images of Paraśurāma carry Fruit, Śaṁkha, Padma, Paraśu[1] or Fruit, Padma, Śaṁkha and Paraśu.[2]

7. Rāmāvatāra

Rāma, the seventh incarnation of Viṣṇu should carry the bow and arrow in his two hands according to Madhyamadaśatāla[3] and his consort Sītā should stand on his right with Nīlotpala flower in her hand, looking at the same time towards her lord Rāma. Hanūmāna, and Lakshmana should also be depicted in the scene.

Khajurāho, however depicts Rāma with two or four hands. In the former case he stands alone carrying the Bow and Arrow[4] and in the latter[5] case he blesses Hanūmān seated at his feet with the first hand, holding a big arrow in second and third while the fourth hand is in Āliṅgana pose. His consort Sītā stands on his left with her right hand in Āliṅgana pose holding the Nılotpala flower in her left (Fig. 15).

8. Kṛishṇāvatāra

According to Vaikhānasāgama[6] Kṛishṇa should be holding Chakra in one of his two hands uplifted above the shoulder while his second hand should be in Varada mudrā. His two consorts should stand by him. Agnipurāṇa depicts him as killing the Bull Arishṭha and Keśī the horse. He also tears off a tree into pieces.

At Khajurāho Kṛishṇa[7] is depicted holding the two main branches of a tree under his arms in the act of tearing it away.

A big panel in the museum (Fig. 16) gives a short biographical sequence of incidents from Kṛishṇa's[8] life. In the panel Vāsudeva and Devakī are shown in the jail with a sentry as their guard. Devakī is lying sad for her baby is to be taken away from her. A little ahead Vāsudeva is shown offering the baby Kṛishṇa

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1. Lt out Pārś. N T. 2. Ibid.
3. Gopi Nath Rao—Vol. I, Pt. I, p. 186.
4. Lt out Pārś. N T. 5. Ibid.
6. Gopi Nath Rao—Vol. I, Pt. I, p. 207.
7. Rt out Pārś. N T.
8. Museum. Lt inner pradak Lak. T, (Pūtanā scene only) Sm upper frieze inside Viś. N T (Pūtanā scene).

to Yaśodā. Further on Gopīs are shown churning curds or butter which the infant Kṛishṇa is trying to pinch. Later on he is shown sucking at Pūtanā's breasts (Fig. 17) who is shown with a wrinkled body, and in utter dread her hands are uplifted towards the sky seeking mercy from the gods. Her hollow cheeks, deep set eyes and loose flat breasts depict her witch-like appearance. Arashṭhi the Bull, and Keśī the horse are also being killed by him, and lastly he is shown striking at Kaṁsa with his left fist while holding the latter's hands and hair in the right hand. The churning of the Great Nāga (cobra) serpent and his Rāsalīlā with the Gopīs is also shown in the panel.

Kṛishṇa[1] is also shown playing on the Flute with his favourite consort Rādhā at his side. Both are wearing kirīta-mukutas.

Kṛīshṇa The image (Fig. 18) holding[2] a two wheeled cart with the first and fourth hands shown in the act of overturning it, the second being in Vyākhyāna-mudrā and the third carrying a flute may be identified with Kṛishṇa, as is also shown on a pillar excavated[3] at Mandor near Jodhpur.

9-A. Bal Rāmāvatāra

According to Agnipurāṇa[4] the characteristic āyudha of Balarāma is Gadā. Hence the image[5] holding a man's legs in its lower two hands, (*i. e.*, first and fourth) Gadā in the second or right upper hand, throttling the man with the left upper hand may be identified with Balarāma.

9-A. Balārama according to Vaikhānasāgama[6], should be two handed holding Hala and Mūsala in his hands. The Agnipurāṇa[7] assigns to him Gadā and Hala. His four handed image should have Chakra, Mūsala, Hala and Śaṁkha in its hands and his consort Revatī should also be depicted along with him. The god[8] with Nāga canopy shown at Khajurāho

1 & 5. Rt inner pradak Lak. T.
2. Back inner pradak Lak T.
3. Bhandarkar Chap. XII, p. 61.
4. Gopi Nath Rao—Vol. I, Part I, p. 195.
6. & 7. Gopi Nath Rao—Vol. I, Part I, p. 195.
8. Rt inner paradak Lak. T.

beating a bearded man with the Hala held in both his hands (Fig. 20) may be taken to be Balarāma.

With his consort to his right Balarāma[1] is depicted at Khajurāho in Āliṅgana pose holding a bowl and Hala in upper two hands with the fourth placed on Kaṭi. His consort carries a Kamal-nāla in her right hand.

9-B. Buddhāvatāra

Balarāma is taken to be the ninth incarnation of Viṣṇu by Sanskrit authorities while the Chālukya Hoyasala school[2] considers Buddha to be the ninth incarnation. Buddha has been depicted twice[3] in the Prabhāvalī round the Vāman and Viṣṇu images and one[4] (Fig. 19) huge stone statue of his is to be found in the Museum. Thus the ninth incarnation of Viṣṇu at Khajurāho is the Buddha, though Balārama also has been depicted separately.

10. Kalkyāvatāra

Kalkī[5] the tenth incarnation of Viṣṇu according to the Agnipurāṇa[6] should carry a bow and arrow and be seated on a horse. When four-handed, he should have Khadga, Bow, Arrow and Chakra. But according to Vaikhānasāgama he should have a horse-face holding Śaṁkha, Chakra, Khadga and Kheṭaka in his four hands. The horse-faced images found at Khajurāho seem to be that of Hayagrīva for they do not tally with the above description.

Kalkī[7] at Khajurāho is depicted seated on a winged horse, wearing the kirīṭa, but the Kalkī image is found only in the Prabhāvalīs of the images enshrined in Lakshman and Vāman temples.

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1. Rt out Pārś. N T.
2. Ibid., Vol. I, Part I, p. 216. Gopi Nath Rao.
3. Sanctum Vām T. Sanctum image Lak. T.
4. Museum.
5. Gopi Nath Rao—Vol. I. Part I, p. 221.
6. Ibid., Vol. I, Part I, p. 221.
7. Sanctum Vām and Lak. Ts, Museum (prabhāvalī of a god Harihara)

Hayagrīva (Minor Avatāra and manifestation of Viṣṇu)

According to Devīpurāṇa[1], Hayagrīva is the god of learning and functions like Sarasvatī—the goddess of learning. According to the Viṣṇu-dharmottara[2], his eight armed image should carry Śaṁkha, Chakra, Gadā, Padma in his right hands while the left ones should be placed on the four personified forms of the Vedas. Hayagrīva images found at Khajurāho are either two handed or four handed and some of the images depict the Bull as his Vāhana. His most distinguishing feature is the horse-face which is sometimes depicted with two horns on the forehead. The god, here, has been assigned the attributive weapons of many of the other gods such as the Triśūla of Śiva; the Śaṁkha, Chakra, Gadā and Padma of Viṣṇu; the Pustaka and Sruvā of Brahmā, and the Pāśa of Varuṇa. The personified forms of the Vedas are also absent and the Pustaka as a symbol of learning or the Vedas themselves has been given in his hands.

The two handed images of Hayagrīva with the Bull Vāhana have been depicted in the Varada[3] or Abhaya[4] poses holding the Kamaṇḍalu in the second.

The four handed images of Hayagrīva with the Bull Vāhana are in the Varada[5] pose and have the Paraśu (the characteristic weapon of Paraśurāma) the Pāśa and the Ghaṭa; in the Abhaya pose[6], the Triśūla, and the Pustaka with fourth hand broken; and in the Varada pose[7], with Pāśa in the upper two hands while the fourth hand is broken; or with Chakra in the third hand rest being broken[8].

Some other images have no Vāhana having their first and fourth hands invariably in Varada pose and holding the

1. & 2. Gopi Nath Rao—Vol. I, Part I, p. 260.
3. Lt and Rt out Ādi N T.
4. Rt inner pradak Viś. N T (2nd hand is broken).
5. Lt out Ādi N T and Chbh. T.
6. Lt and Rt out Bh Ch T.
7. Rt inner pradak Viś. N T and Lt out Javārī T.
8. Base Pratap T, Back out Vām T (Chakra in 3rd rest broken).

Kamaṅdalu. The remaining upper two hands have Sruvā[1] and Pustaka ; Triśūla[2] and Pustaka (Fig. 21) ; Triśūla[3] and Pāśa ; Sarpa[4] and Pāśa ; Vajra[5] and Pustaka ; Vajra[6] and Pāśa ; Pustaka[7] and Kamal ; Pāśa[8] and Pustaka ; Kamal[9] in upper two hands ; Pāśa[10] in the upper two hands.

Yet other images of the same god have the first hand in Abhaya pose and hold Kamaṅdalu in the fourth. In the upper two hands they carry Kamal[11] or Pāśa[12] and Pustaka ; and Sword[13] and Chakra.

Other forms of Viṣṇu (with 8 hands and many faces or other peculiarities)

One very peculiar depiction of Viṣṇu[14] having four hands in Varada mudrā and carrying Pāśa, Pustaka and Kamaṅdalu has also been found. Here his Vāhana Garuḍa on whom he is seated alone helps in identifying him with the god because he carries none of the usual āyudhas.

Eight handed Viṣṇu[15] images having one face are also depicted at Khajurāho in which he has been shown with Varada pose holding Gadā, Śaṁkha, Chakra, Padma, Chakra and Kamaṅdalu. The āyudha held by him in his seventh hand is not clearly depicted. This seems to be the Vikarāla rūpa of Viṣṇu. In another image[16] he is seated on Garuḍa with all his hands mutilated.

The Trimūrti image of Viṣṇu has a lion face on the right, Varāha face on left and human face in the centre. But accord-

1. Lt inner pradak Lak. T.
2. Rt out Vām T.
3. Back and Lt out Vām T and Rt and Lt out Vām T.
4. Lt inner pradak Lak. T and Viś. N Ts.
5. Rt and Back inner pradak Lak. T (4th hand broken in one).
6. Sm T on Lt front of Viś. N T.
7. Rt back inner pradak Lak. T.
8. Back inner pradak Viś. N, Lt and Rt inner pradak Kanḍ T and Sm T on Rt front of Viś. N T, Lt and Rt Bh Ch and Vām Ts.
9. Museum (one image has a fruit instead of Kamaṅdalu).
10. Lt and Back inner pradak Kanḍ T. (1st hand is broken in one image).
11. Sm T on Lt front of Viś. N T, Museum.
12. Sm T at Rt back of Viś. N. T., Lt inner Pradak Viś. N. T.
13. Sm T on Rt back of Viś. N T.
14. Rt inner pradak Kanḍ. T.
15. Lt out Viś. N T.
16. Museum.

ing to the authorities, Viṣṇu[1] has a Chaturmukhī form instead of the Trimukhī and the fourth should be the female face of his Śakti. It is rather strange that no Chaturmukhī image of Viṣṇu of this type has been found at Khajurāho even though an eleven faced image has been found there. Hence it seems that the fourth face was left out on purpose by the sculptors who wanted to introduce a change.

Of the Trimukhī images of Viṣṇu—those of Vaikunṭhanātha, have been depicted with four[2] or eight[3] hands the latter having Padma, Chakra and Chakra in three of its hands, the rest five being broken. The twelve[4] handed image of the same god has Chakra in one hand the other resting on Kaṭi while all the remaining ten hands are broken.

The eleven headed Viṣṇu[5] image combines all the ten incarnations of the god with his human face in the centre. Of the eleven heads two are those of Varāha and Narasiṁha and the rest are human. All the eight hands, excepting the one holding the Chakra, are broken.

The sixty-four[6] handed image in the Museum (Fig. 22) can also be identified with Viṣṇu, even though its hands and face are broken, because on its Prabhāvalī Brahmā and Śiva are depicted onto the right and the left respectively. This again seems to be the Vikarāla rūpa of Viṣṇu.

A Yogasthānaka image of Viṣṇu[7] (Fig. 23) seated in Padmāsana with Gadā and Chakra in his first and third hands, the fourth being placed on the lips to depict Viṣṇu Maunavratin has also been found. The Pujikā munīs are also depicted in the image but the omission of Brahmā and Śiva makes it a *Madhyama class mūrti.*

1. Gopi Nath Rao—Vol. I, Part I, p. 256.
2. Sanctum image Lak T.. (all hands are broken).
3. Back inner pradak Kanḍ. T.
4. Lt of maṅdap Lak T.
5. Rt out Bh Ch T.
6. Museum.
7. Ibid.

The eight handed image having first hand in[1] Varada mudrā, second being broken, carrying Pāśa, Fruit, Chakra, Gadā, Śaṁkha, and Kamaṅdalu may be identified with Viṣṇu—due to Śaṁkha, Chakra and Gadā being his characteristic weapons. Varada, Fruit and Kamaṅdalu are the three common articles given to him here in this image and Pāśa may be justified in his hands according to Khajurāho iconography itself, where he is depicted with[2] Varada mudrā, Pāśa, Pustaka and Ghaṭa. Hence Pāśa and Ghaṭa both can be taken by him.

According to Gopi Nath Rao, the eight handed image of Vaikuṇthanātha (a form of Viṣṇu)[3] should carry Gadā, Sword, Arrow, Chakra, Śaṁkha, Kheṭaka, Bow and Padma in its hands. Hence the image found at Khajurāho having[4] Gadā, Kamal, (hand broken), Sword, Chakra, Śaṁkha, hand broken and holding the elephant's trunk with the eighth hand at the same time riding on the elephant may be identified with Viṣṇu (Fig. 24). His riding on elephant is peculiar for his vāhana is Garuḍa.

Section B—The Śaiva Images

The evolution of Śaivism since the Upanishadic period changed the god Śiva from the awesome god of thunder storms, the Vedic Rudra, into an "infinite Intelligence . . . Creator of the World...Redeemer of mankind".[5] Śiva also came to be associated with a consort—Pārvatī or Umā, a beneficent goddess who could also assume a terrible aspect as Kālī or Durgā or Śakti. Śiva's Śakti, her worshippers held, "Unlike our mother who feeds us only when we are hungry.. feeds us without our asking for it."[6] It makes us good, and illumines our souls by revealing the truth. By and by, Śiva came to be considered as the Creator, Supporter and Destroyer of the Universe. This concept came to be embodied in the well-known Natarājā form of Śiva's image having four hands and two legs, in which the Ḍamrū in

1. Lt out Viś. N T.
2. Inside Kanḍ T.
3. Gopi Nath Rao—Vol. I, Part I, p. 256.
4. Base of Kanḍ. T.
5. Bhandarkar—Chap. XVII, p. 222-23.
6. A Shivapadasundaram--Śaiva School of Hinduism, Ch. IV, p. 56.

one hand symbolises the creation of the Universe as a result of the vibrations set up in Māyā by the God's will, the Abhaya mudrā of another hand confers fearlessness on the worshipper and thus becomes the symbol of the sustenance of the Universe, and the hand holding fire indicates its destruction at His will —the fourth hand and the uplifted foot point to infinite bliss ; the second foot crushing a dwarf symbolises the destruction of ignorance. The loving smile on the idol's face signifies welcome to the devotee and absence of hatred, and the third eye on the God's forehead stands for the 'light of Pure Knowledge'.[1]

Śiva, however, came to be worshipped in other forms also such as that of "Bhairava", the "Triśūla"[2], and the liṅga or phallus. All these various forms of the Śiva image are found at Khajurāho. and we shall first deal with the Śāntamūrti, or the four-handed beneficent idols of Śiva found there.

Śiva's four handed images have been divided into three categories as follows :

I—Śiva holds Triśūla and Sarpa as two[3] characteristic weapons.

The image of Śiva with first hand in Varada pose, with Triśūla, Sarpa in the upper two and Kaṭi[4] or Āliṅgana[5] poses or carrying a Ghaṭa[6] in the fourth hand has been commonly depicted in many of the temples. In some cases the fourth hand is broken[7].

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1. A Shivapadasundaram—Śaiva School of Hinduism.
2. Ibid., Appendix A, pp. 184-85.
3. Śiva carries Triśūla and Sarpa in his North Indian depiction as his characteristic āyudhas-C. Sivarammurti—Ancient India No. 6, 1950, p. 52.
4. Lt out Viś. N T., Rt out Viś. N T (first hand is broken), Lt inner pradak Viś. N T. Here the 2nd hand is broken and first holds the Triśūla.
5. Rt out Jag T., Lt inner pradak Kaṇḍ T. (Seated image Pārvatī holds Ārasī in left hand). Top Ardhamaṇḍap Viś. N T. (first hand of Śiva is broken).
6. Centre Sanctum Gate Viś. N & Kaṇḍ Ts, Sm T on rt back Viś. N T, Base Pratāpeśvara T, Lt out Jag T, Back out Bh. Ch T., Lt Ardhamaṇḍap Lak T, Rt Sanctum Gate Ch. bh. T (all images are seated) Sm T on Rt front of Lak. T (with consort and standing) *Standing images with Bull Vāhana*—Rt out Viś N, Bhch Ts, Lt out Kaṇḍ, Lak, Bh Ch and Pārś N Ts, Sm Ts on Lt and Rt front of Lak. T. Sm T on rt back of Lak. T., Sm T at back of Viś. N T and Back of Nandi T.
7. Lt and Rt out Viś. N T (no Vāhana) Lt out Kaṇḍ & Lak. Ts (with Vāhana).

In some of the temples, Śiva is depicted with the first hand in Abhaya mudrā carrying Triśūla, Sarpa in the other two and fourth in Kaṭi[1] pose. Instead of the fourth in Kaṭi pose he has a *Ghaṭa*[2] (Fig. 25), or Fruit[3] if it is not broken[4]. Sometimes the fourth hand is held in Abhaya mudrā[5].

Śiva has Kaṭi, Triśūla and Sarpa in the first three hands, the fourth one either in Āliṅgana[6] mudrā or carrying a Ghaṭa[7]. *Sometimes the āyudhas of the first and fourth hands have been interchanged*[8]. In one case, (Fig. 26) the god has been depicted with Triśūla[9], Kamal, Sarpa and Kaṭi pose.

Some images of Śiva and Pārvatī better known as Umā-Maheśa mūrtis have Ghaṭa[10], Fruit[11] or Kamal[12] in the first hand, Triśūla and Sarpa in the second and third and the fourth in Āliṅgana mudrā.

Other images have Fruit[13] or Kamal[14] in their first hand with the others holding the Triśūla and Sarpa and the fourth in Kaṭi pose.

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1. Lt out Viś. N T, (Bull Vāhana is also there).
2. Rt out Viś. N & Jag Ts, Lt out Jag & Lak. Ts, Sanctum gate Javārī T (with Bull Vāhana), Rt inner pradak Lak. T, Lt Sanctum gate Lak .T, Rt Sanctum gate of Sm T on Lt front Lak. T, Sm T on Rt back of Lak. T (seated).
3. Museum (Bull Vāhana).
4. Lt or Rt out Viś. N T, Lt out Jag T (Bull Vāhana) Lt out Kanḍ T (No Vāhana, Abhaya with Rosary).
5. Sm T on rt back Lak. T, Rt out Viś. N T (The 4th broken hand has been interchanged with 3rd).
6. Lt maṇdap Kanḍ T.
7. Back out Viś. N T, Lt out Viś. N T (4th hand broken, Bull Vāhana is there).
8. Back out Vām T.
9. Outside gate Śānti N T.
10. Inner pradak Viś. N T (Pārvatī with Fruit in left hand) hence not Umā-Maheśa but Umā-Sahita mūrti.
11. Lt pradak Viś. N, (Pārvatī has Ārasī in Lt hand, Bull of Śiva and Lion the vāhana of Pārvatī are also depicted. Base Pratāpeśvara T and Museum.
12. Rt out Kanḍ T & Museum (Pārvatī has Ārasi in left hand) Bull vāhana is also there).
13. Rt out Pārś N T.
14. Outside front Śānti N T.

II—Out of the two characteristic weapons (**Triśūla** and **Sarpa**) yet others have only one *i e.*, Triśūla in their second hand (excepting two). Their Vāhana, Bull, is also depicted in some of the cases.

The first hand of other images is in Varada pose with Triśūla in the second and Ghaṭa in the fourth hands. The third holds Pāśa[1], Kamal[2] or Pustaka[3]. Excepting in one case the Vāhana Bull is invariably depicted. The Pustaka in the hands of Śiva can be justified as in the Umā-Maheśa mūrti Śiva is carrying a Pustaka which, it is said, stands for the Purāṇas addressed to Pārvatī that he is offering to her[4]. At Halebidu in the Harihara Pitāmaha stone[5] Śiva has been depicted carrying Rosary, Triśūla, Ḍamarū and Pustaka.

Several images of Śiva have the first hand in the Varada pose, the second holds the Triśūla, the third is broken and the fourth has a Ghaṭa[6] or a Fruit[7] or is also in Kaṭi[8] or Āliṅgana[9] mudrā.

The first two hands of some images are in Abhaya pose and carry Triśūla, the fourth is broken and the third has Kamal[10], Pāśa[11] or Pustaka[12].

In two images the arrangement of āyudhas is Fruit, Triśūla, Pāśa and Kaṭi pose[13] (Fig. 26a) and Bull Vahana is also

1. Lt out Jag (Varada with rosary) and Pārś N Ts, Rt out Pārś N T.
2. Rt out Kanḍ. T (vāhana broken) Lt out Kanḍ T (No vāhana) Lt out Lak T (God seated. No Vāhana) Topmost image on Rt out Kanḍ Sm T on rt back of Lak. T (No vāhana) (Āyudhas of *2nd and 3rd hands are interchanged*) Sm T on rt back Lak. T. Lt out Kanḍ T.
3. Rt out Viś. N T, Lt out Jag T, Back out Lak. T (vāhana broken), Lt out Kanḍ & Vām Ts (4th hand is broken).
4. Elements of Hindu Iconography—Gopi Nath Rao, Vol. II, Part I, Plate XXIX facing page 141.
5. Ibid., Vol. I, Part I, p. 252, Plate LXXII.
6. Lt and Rt out Viś N T (with Bull vāhana)
7. Museum (the third hand here carries a Pustaka).
8. Lt out Viś. N T (with Bull vāhana).
9. Lt out Viś. N T (She has an Ārsī in her left hand).
10. Lt out Kanḍ T.
11. Rt out Viś N T (4th hand here holds a Ghaṭa).
12. Rt out Viś. N T (with Bull vāhana).
13. Back out Pārś N T.

depicted while the other has Kaṭi pose, Pāśa, Triśūla and Ghaṭa[1] in its four hands.

III—The images whose description now follows carry Sarpa in their second or third hand. Here only one characteristic āyudha of Śiva is to be found.

The first hand of one image is in Varada mudrā, the third has Sarpa and fourth one has Ghaṭa. The āyudhas of the second hand are Pustaka[2] or Kamal[3].

One of the two images has first hand in Varada pose holding Pāśa and Sarpa in the second and third while the fourth is Kaṭiavalambita[4]. The other has Varada pose, Sarpa and Ghaṭa[5] in first second and fourth hands while the third one is broken.

The first hand of the image in the Viśvanāth temple is in Abhaya mudrā while the rest have Pāśa, Sarpa and Kaṭiavalambita hasta[6]. One image has Kamal instead of Pāśa and its fourth hand is broken[7]. One image with these āyudhas has its second hand broken[8]. The āyudhas of the second and third hands are interchanged and the fourth hand is broken[9] or has a Ghaṭa[10].

Now we come to the description of images with the first hand placed on the Kaṭi holding Pāśa, Sarpa and Ghaṭa[11] in the rest ; the fourth may be in Āliṅgana pose[12] or the hand is broken[13]. When the āyudhas of the second or third hands are interchanged he carries Ghaṭa[14] or Fruit[15] in the fourth hand. One image has the first hand carrying fruit while fourth is on Kaṭi[16].

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1. Lt out Viś N. T.
2. Rt out Kanḍ T (with Bull vāhana) 3. Lt out Kanḍ T.
4. Lt out Kanḍ T. (with Bull vāhana) Rt out Kanḍ T (4th hand broken and no vāhana).
5. Lt out Kanḍ T.
6. Rt out Viś N T (with Bull vāhana).
7. Lt out Kanḍ T. 8. Rt out Jag T.
9. Lt out Jag T. 10. Lt out Jag T.
11. Lt out Viś N T. (with Bull vāhana).
12. Back out Bh. Ch. T (Pārvatī has an Ārasī in her left hand Umā-Maheśa).
13. Lt out Viś N T (with Bull vāhana), Lt & Rt out Viś N T and Lt out Pārś N T.
14. Rt out Viś N and Kanḍ Ts (with Bull vāhana)
15. Lt out Pārś N T. (with Bull vāhana).
16. Rt out Pārś N T. (with Bull vāhana).

Kaṭi pose, Kamal and Sarpa are in the first three hands of these images while the fourth has a Fruit[1] (Fig. 27), full blown Kamal[2] (Fig. 28) or Āliṅgana mudrā[3] In some cases the āyudhas of upper two hands are interchanged and the fourth hand is broken[4].

Another image has Pāśa, Sarpa and Āliṅgana mudrā in second, third and fourth hands, the first having Ghaṭa[5]*. The other image has the āyudhas of upper two hands interchanged with Kamal in the first hand and Ghaṭa in the fourth[6].

The first hand of Śiva in these images has Sarpa and the fourth is in Āliṅgana mudrā. The second and third are broken[7].

Śiva carries Pustaka, Sarpa and Ghaṭa in his last three hands with the first placed on Kaṭi[8].

It is surprising to note that according to Śiva Purāṇa only one *Śāntamūrti image of Śiva* (having Fruit, second broken and other two carrying Ḍamarū and Triśūla[9]) has been found *at Khajurāho*. The most common depiction of Śiva at Khajurāho is according to the āyudhas as given in the North Indian style[10] (refer to category one having Triśūla and Sarpa). But the remaining two hands have been given one of the seven common articles This liberty has been further enhanced in the categories II and III where only one of the characteristic āyudha of Śiva has been

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1. Lt & Rt out Viś N T (with 2nd hand broken)—Lt & Rt out Viś N T
2. Rt out Pārś N T.
3. Rt out Pārś N T. (Pārvatī holds a flower in her left hand). Two images with the same āyudhas and poses depict Pārvatī holding flower and Darpaṇa in her right and left hands, Rt out Pārś N. T., Back out BhCh T.
4. Lt out Jag and Kaṇḍ Ts. (First hand is broken and fourth is on Kaṭi —Lt out Kaṇḍ T. Bull vāhana is also there.
5. Lt out Pārś N T (Pārvatī has an Ārasī), Rt out BhCh. T (2nd hand of Śiva is broken).

* According to the "Jain Iconography" and "Indian Images" by B. C Bhattacharya this image can be identified with Sūkra as well.

6. Rt out Pārś N T.
7. Lt Maṇḍap inside Kaṇḍ T (with Bull vāhana), Rt Maṇḍap Vām T (with Bull vāhana), Lt inner Pradak. Kaṇḍ. T. (No Vāhana).
8. Lt out Viś N T and Jag T., Rt out Kaṇḍ T (with Bull vāhana).
9. Sm T on Rt back of Lak T.
10. C. Sivaramurti—Ancient India No. 6, 1950, p. 52.

retained even making the vāhana absent sometimes. Further, still, another category follows in which Śiva is not given any of the āyūdhas assigned to him by the Texts, but he carries mostly some of the common articles described above and is depicted along with his vāhana as its distinguishing feature. This further supports the view that the practice of Indian Iconography was undergoing a change at Khajurāho during[1] this period.

In the Kandariā Mahādeo temple[2], Śiva is shown with the first hand in Varada mudrā, and the remaining hands carrying Pāśa, Pustaka and Ghaṭa. His vāhana the Bull, too is there.

An Aliṅgana Mūrti[3] *of* Śiva with his first hand touching the chin[4] of Pārvatī, who has a Darpaṇa in her hand, and the fourth hand in Āliṅgana mudrā has been inserted at such a great height that what is held by the upper two hands of the god could not be seen.

Natarāja mūrti of Śiva

Four, eight and twelve-handed Siva has been depicted giving the performance of the famous *Tāṇḍava Nṛitya* although such images are of rare occurrence[5] in Northern India. At Khajurāho there are only two images of the first variety. One of them[6] has Triśūla, Ḍamarū and Khappara (Kapāl) in the first three hands, the fourth is broken whereas in the other image[7] the first hand is mutilated and the fourth rests on the Kaṭi, while the remaining carry the given āyudhas. Here the God is shown with big moustaches and is looking at the Khappara. In this depiction, again, the divergence from the traditional depiction is found, because here the God has been given Āyudhas in his three hands instead of two[8] and he does not carry Agni in any of his hands.

Of the second category there are also two images in the museum[9], the first of them is shown with Varada, Triśūla,

1. C.V. Vaidya, Rise of Hindu India—Pt. II, Chap. XIV, p. 278-79.
2. Lt and Rt outside Kanḍ T. 3. On Top Lt out Viś N T.
4. B.C. Bhattacharya, Part I, p. 22.
5. B.C. Bhattacharya, Indian Images, Pt. I, Chap. I, p. 21.
6. Rt outside Dūlādeo temple. 7. Rt outside Dūlādeo temple.
8. Gopi Nath Rao, V. 2, Pt. I, plate LVI (Madras museum) facing p. 223.
9. Museum.

Khaḍga, Ḍamarū, Khēṭak, Khaṭvānga, seventh broken eighth having Khappara; whereas the other has first hand brok second and third holding Triśūla and Ḍamarū, fourth and fi hands are holding his head near the temples, the sixth carı Sarpa and remaining two hands are broken. Again the ab images vary in details from the Sanskrit texts[1] which prescr in his eight hands—Triśūla, Pāśa, Ḍamarū, Abhaya, Gajaha pose, Kapāla, Agni and Ghaṅṭā respectively.

Of the third type[2], only one twelve-handed image has b found and in that too all the hands are mutilated. The left of the God is uplifted in a dance pose and is thrown towards right side, while the Nandī is looking at him (Fig. 29).

In the[3] Kandariā temple an image of Śiva having four le seven heads and twelve hands has been shown. The first hand the image is in Varada mudrā holding a rosary and all other be broken. As Brahmā and Viṣṇu are depicted at both ends top in the prabhāvalī the image no doubt is that of Śiva.

The only god who can have four legs is Dharma as give Ādityapurāṇa[4]. But Dharma has only four faces and f hands. Hence it seems that Khajurāho sculptors have combi the Trimūrti eight handed image of Śiva with the four faced a four armed God Dharma (Fig. 30) making Sivā's vāhana the I absent, because the bull represents[5] Dharma.

A peculiar image of Śiva in Ālingana mudrā[6] with his c sort having Ārasī in her hand while the god holds Pustaka in second hand (third being broken) and fourth one resting on K has been also found at Khajurāho. The goddess is on the ri of the god. It can be identified with the above on the basis a similar identification by Gopi Nath Rao[7] where the first h

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1. Gopi Nath Rao, V. 2, Pt. 1, p. 254.
2. Rt outside Dūlādeo temple.
3. Lt inside Maṇḍap Kand T., Museum (The seventh head is only a Liṅ —this confirms our conjecture of the combined Dharma and Śiva image)
4. Elements of Hindu Iconography by Gopi Nath Rao 1914-1916, Vo Part I, p. 265.
5. B.C. Bhattacharya, Part I, Chap. I, p. 23.
6. Lt out Bhch T.
7. Gopi Nath Rao, Vol. II, Part I, p. 141, Plate XXIX.

of the god is in Sūchī-hasta pose, second has Pustaka, third holds Pārvatī's dress and fourth one rests on one leg.

MARRIAGE OF ŚIVA

Śiva is holding Pārvatī's right hand[1] in his own right hand. Pārvatī stands to his right while the god holds Kamal[2] and Triśūla in his upper two hands having the fourth one on Kaṭi. Pārvatī has an Ārasī in her left hand (Fig. 31).

Other two images depict Śiva with first hand broken Sarpa[3] and Triśūla in his upper two hands while the fourth is placed on Kaṭi, Pārvatī has a Kamal instead of Ārasī in her hands.

SAṀHĀRA MŪRTI OF ŚIVA

Nīlakantha

According to Śārdātilaktantra[4] Śiva in his Nīlakaṅṭha form should have Rosary, Triśūla, Khaṭvāṅga and Drinking vessel. One image with first hand in Varada[5] pose tallies exactly with this description. The seated image of Śiva at Khajurāho carrying Drinking vessel[6], Triśūla, Khaṭvāṅga and Kamaṅdalu or Khappara[7], Ḍamaru, Kamal, and Khaṭvāṅga may be identified with Nīlakaṅṭha. The other images carry Drinking vessel[8], Ḍamaru and Khaṭvāṅga in three hands with the fourth one broken ; with the first hand in Abhaya mudrā[9], Khaṭvāṅga and Kamaṅdalu in the rest (third one being broken).

Nīlakaṅṭha with his consort or in Āliṅgana mudrā has been given Khaṭvāṅga[10] and Kamalnāla in his upper two hands with the first and fourth in Abhaya and Āliṅgana poses.

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1. R. P. Chanda, Medieval Indian Sculptures in the British Museum Chap. V, p. 61.
2. Museum.
3. Back outside Vāman T and Bh. ch T. (the upper two hands broken).
4. N.K. Bhattasali, p. 117.
5. Rt out Kanḍ T.
6. Rt out Bh. ch T.
7. Museum.
8. Sm T on Rt front of Lak T, Rt inner pradak Kanḍ T (three hands broken).
9. Rt out Jag T.
10. Lt out Pārs' N T.

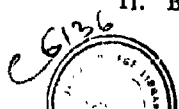
Aghora mūrtis of Śiva

According to Gopi Nath Rao[1] the eight-handed images of Śiva in Ugra rūpa should have Sūla, Ḍamarū, Dandā and Pāśa hence the image at Khajurāho with Bird[2], Damarū, Pāśa and Dandā with Bull Vāhana (Fig. 32) seems to be Śiva in Ugra rūpa. Another image carries Khaṭvāṅga[3], Pustaka and bird in the last three hands respectively, the first being broken, having Bull Vāhana too. Bird in the hands of Śiva has been given instead of Sūla both of these being the characteristic āyudhas of Kārtikēya.[4] These images have an awesome appearance with teeth protruding. In Āliṅgana mūrti of Śiva in Ugra rūpa his consort should have a Drinking vessel and he himself can carry a bell.[5] Such an image at Khajurāho has been given the Bell[6] in the first hand of the god, second and fourth being in Abhaya and Āliṅgana mudrās (third hand of the god is broken) his consort Yogeśvari has a Khappara or Drinking vessel.

The eight-handed images of *Aghoramūrtis*[7] of Śiva are depicted with Khappara[8], Triśūla, Śakti, Ḍamaru, Ghanti or Bell, Sarpa, Khaṭvāṅga and Kamaṅdalu. With the first hand on knee[9] and rest having Triśūla, Abhaya mudrā, Ḍamarū, Bell, Gadā, Kamaṅdalu and eighth one not clear ; Varada[10], Ḍamarū, Triśūla, Sarpa and four others broken or Varada[11], Triśūla, Damarū Khatvānga and Kamaṅdalu with three hands broken, have also been found

Gajasaṁhāra mūrti

The Gajasaṁhāra mūrtis of Śiva found at Khajurāho depict six, ten or sixteen-handed images of the god, while according

1. Gopi Nath Rao, Vol. II, Part I, p. 197.
2. Rt out Jag T.
3. Rt out Pārś N T.
4. Gopi Nath Rao, Vol. II, Part II, p. 425.
5. Gopi Nath Rao, Vol. II, Part I, p. 192-194.
6. Rt out Pārś N T.
7. Gopi Nath Rao, Vol. II, Part I, p. 115.
8. Lt out Kanḍ T (vāhan—bull is also shown).
9. Rt out Viś N T (seated image).
10. Lt out Dūlādeo T.
11. Back out Jag T (three faced image)

to Aṁśumadbhedāgama[1] he should have four or eight hands. An example of sixteen handed image is also found at Amritapura in Mysore[2].

Most of the hands of the ten[3] or sixteen[4]-handed images found at Khajurāho are mutilated, only two hands holding the Elephant-skin canopy over head remain.

The twelve-handed image, however, shows the god holding Triśūla[5], Vajra, Ḍamarū, Elephant's skin in two hands, with the sixth thrusting the Triśūla in a man's stomach, remaining six broken. He has a ferocious face with big moustaches, teeth visible and eyes bulging out (Fig. 33).

Bhairava with Bhairavī

A god with consort (Fig. 34) has been depicted with first hand in Āliṅgana[6] mudrā, carrying a Ring (Chhallā) Kamal and Bell in the rest with Darpaṇa in the hands of the consort who stands on his right. The god who may be taken to be Bhairava can have Bell according to Suprabhēdagāma[7].

Tripurāntaka Śiva with Consort

In what may probably be the Tripurāntaka murti* in Āliṅgana mudrā (Fig. 35) Śiva has been depicted with Ghata[8], three arrows with human skull carved on them and a bird sitting on top, bow in his first three hands, and the fourth in Āliṅgana mudrā. The goddess carries a Kamal nāla in her hand. These āyudhas are in accordance with the ones given by Gopi Nath Rao[9].

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1. Gopi Nath Rao, Vol. II, Part I, p. 151.
2. Gopi Nath Rao, Vol. II, Part I, p. 156, Plate XXXIII.
3. Rt maṇḍap Kanḍ. T.
4. Rt inner pradak Viś N and Kanḍ Ts., Lt out Dūlādeo T.
5. Museum.
6. Rt Pars' N T.
7. Gopi Nath Rao, Vol. II, Part II, p. 496.

* The image can also be that of Skanda according to "Indian Images" by B.C. Bhattacharya, p. 26.

8. Back out Pārś N T.
9. Gopi Nath Rao, Vol. II, Part I, pp. 164-71.

Bhairava

Images of Bhairava have been shown at Khajurāho either with the prescribed Dog Vāhana or Nude.

The Amśumadbhēdāgama[1] says that Bhairava should be nude having a Yajñopavīta of Nāga serpent and a garland of skulls on his neck. According to Vighneśvara Pratishṭhāvidhi Sātvika[2] Bhairava should have a dog Vāhana and snake ornament.

The naked god's images have been depicted with Drinking vessel[3], Ḍamarū, Ghanṭī and Human skull (narmuṇḍa); with sword[4], Kamal, Sarpa and Khatvāṅga with Human skull[5] (Fig. 36). Other images have one of the four hands broken carrying Sword[6], Bell, Sarpa ; or Sword[7], Karabāla and Khatvāṅga. Images of Bhairava with two hands broken carry Sword[8], Pāśa; Sword[9], Shield (Khētaka); and Sword[10], snake in his hands.

Bhairava (Fig. 37) depicted along with his Vāhana–dog has Gadā[11], Ḍamarū, Bell and the dog's chain in his four hands. Without his Vāhana the god has been given Khappara[12], Kamal, Sarpa and Gadā in his four hands. With one of his hands broken he holds Gadā[13], Sarpa and fruit ; or Sword[14], Sarpa and Human skull (narmuṇḍa) or Sword[15] (Fig. 38), Shield and Skull in his remaining three hands

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1. Gopi Nath Rao, Vol. II, Part II, p. 496.
2. Gopi Nath Rao, Vol. II, Part II, p. 498.
3. Rt out Kanḍ, Vām Ts, Museum (last two hands broken) Lt out Chbh. T (first hand broken).
4. Sm. T rt back of Viś N T, Rt out Jag and Bhch T (third hand broken) Back inner pradak Lak, Sm Ts on Lt and Rt back of Lak T (last two hands broken).
5. Lt out Viś. N. T.
6. Sm. T rt front Lak T.
7. Rt out Vām T.
8. Back inner pradak Kanḍ T.
9. Rt out Jag T.
10. Back out Viś N T, Back inner pradak Viś N, Rt out Kanḍ T.
11. Museum.
12. Near Bus stand.
13. Rt out Ādi N T.
14. Lt inner pradak Viś N T.
15. Rt out Dūladeo T.

He is also shown seated on his Dog holding its mouth and tail with lower two hands upper two being in Siṁhakarṇa mudrā[1].

The image with Bird[2], Bell and Khatvāṅga in his three hands (second hand being broken) can be none other than Bhairava as he can carry Bell and Śūla according to Suprabhedāgama[3] and Khatvāṅga and Śūla according to Rūpamaṇḍana[4]. Instead of Spear*, the god has a bird in the fourth hand.

Section C—Śākta Images

The worship of goddesses in connection with the worship of their divine consorts may be dated from the age of the Grihyasūtras[5], and became fully developed by the age of the Mahābhārata[6] where we have for the first time a full-throated hymn to Durgā. She is addressed therein by various names such as Kumāri, Kāli, Kāpālī, Māhākālī, Chaṇḍī, Kātyāyanī, Karālā, Vijayā, Kauśikī, Umā, Kāntārvāsini etc. We need not go into the various legends about her origin and birth, but it is interesting to note that the hymn to the goddess addressed as Mahiṣāsuramardinī in the Virātparva of the Mahābhārata describes her as living on the Vindhyā mountains under the name of Kauśikī. In course of time, she came to be worshipped in various forms and names as Mother with a beneficent, or Śānta as well as a terrible aspect. We have images of the goddess in all her aspects at Khajurāho.

Lakshmī

The goddess Lakshmī is the consort of Viṣṇu, and with the spread of Vaiṣṇavism, the worship of Lakshmī naturally became very popular.

Lakshmī[7] has been usually depicted with the symbols given to her male counterpart. The image with the first hand

1. Lt inner pradak Lak T.
2. Rt out Jag T.
3. Gopi Nath Rao, Vol. II, Part II, p. 497.
4. Gopi Nath Rao, Vol. II, Part I, p. 177.
* Spear and bird both being characteristic āyudhas of Kārtikeya. Gopi Nath Rao, Vol. II, Part II, p. 425.
5. Bhandarkar, Chap. XIII, p. 203-210.
6. Bhishmaparva, Chap. 23 and Virātparva, Chap. 6.
7. B.C. Bhattacharya, Indian Images Pt. I, 1921, p. 37.

in Varada mudrā[1], holding Kamal, Chakra and Ghaṭa in the rest justifies Kamal and Chakra in the upper two hands of the goddess who carries Amṛita Ghaṭa in her fourth hand in accordance with Śilparatna.

According to Śilparatna[2] two elephants should be shown pouring water over the head of goddess Lakshmī who should carry Bilva fruit, Kamal, Śamkha and Amritaghaṭa in her hands.

The seated image of this goddess in the Lakshman temple at Khajurāho carries two Lotuses[3] in its upper hands over which stand the elephants pouring water over her. Her lower two hands are in Varada mudrā[4] and carry a Ghaṭa. Another image in the museum with the same description as above stands on a Lotus with the first hand in Varada mudrā[5] having a rosary also or a Śaṁkha[6].

A seated image (Fig. 39) having elephants to pour water over her, carrying rosary in the first hand which is in Abhaya mudrā[7], and Amrita Ghaṭa in the fourth with Lotuses in upper two hands as above may be identified with Lakshmī in spite of her Lion Vāhana and this image seems to be a rare example of the use of the lion as Lakshmī's vāhana. According to B.C. Bhattacharya[3] Lakshmī can have the lion as her vehicle but he further states that no such image has come down to us. Khajurāho however supplies the rare example.

According to Bhattacharya[8] Lakshmī can have either two lotuses, or a lotus and a Bel fruit (Śriphala) in her hands. The following images may be identified with Lakshmī although two elephants are not shown pouring out water over her. The

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1. Sanctum Gate Vām T.
2. Gopi Nath Rao, Vol. I, Part II, p. 374.
3. B.C. Bhattacharya—Indian Images, Part I, 1921, p. 37.
4. Rt inner Pradak Lak T, Lt inner pradak Kanḍ T (fourth hand is broken).
5. Museum.
6. Rt. inner pradak Lak T.
7. Base of Sm T on Lt front of Viś N T.
8. B.C. Bhattacharya, Indian Images, Pt. I, 1921, p. 37.

three such four-handed images[1] found in the museum have Kamal in the upper two hands. Two of the images have first hand in Varada or Abhaya pose while the fourth has an Amrita Ghaṭa*. In the third one the first hand is given Bel fruit and the fourth is placed on the Kaṭi.

Sarasvatī

According to Agnipurāṇa[2] (Chap. 50) Sarasvatī should carry the Vīnā in her first and third hands, rosary in the second and Pustaka in the fourth hands. According to Aṁśumadbhedāgama[3] she can also carry Kamal in one of her hands while according to Śārdātilaka tantra[4] (seventh Pātala) she may carry two Lotuses and her vehicle in the Swan.

The seated images of Sarasvatī[5] depicted at Khajurāho carry the Vīnā in the first and third hands and the Lotus in the second hand– the fourth being in Varada mudrā ; or with Vīnā[6] in first and fourth hands, Pustak and Kamal in the second and the third hands (Fig. 40). She also carries Kamalnāla[7] and Pustaka in her second and third hands with Vīnā in the remaining hands.

In accordance with the Sārdātilaka Tantra, Sarasvatī has also been depicted with the first hand in Varada mudrā[8], Kamal in upper two and Pustaka in the fourth. Other four handed images with the first hand in the Varada mudrā[9], Kamal, Vīnā and Ghaṭa in the rest and Kamal[10], Pustaka and Kamal in the last three, and the first hand as above have also been found.

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1. Museum.

*The description of Āyudhas shows that this is a combined representation of the Āyudhas prescribed by Rao and Bhattacharya.

2. N.K. Bhattasali, p. 189.
3. Elements of Hindu Iconography—Gopi Nath Rao—Vol. I, Pt. II, p. 377.
4. N.K. Bhattasali, p. 189.
5. Rt out Pārś N. T.
6. Base Kaṇḍ T.
7. Sanctum gate Viś N T. Top pillar sanctum gate Chbh T (Kamal in upper two hands).
8. Museum.
9. Rt out Vām T, Museum.
10. Lt out Jag and Pārś N Ts.

Six and eight handed images of the goddess have also been found, most of the hands of which are broken. The six handed image has Vīna[1] in the lower two hands all others being broken, and the eight handed image[2] has Vīnā in the lower two with the right upper hand playing upon it and remaining five are broken.

A five hooded nāga canopied Goddess[3] holding Vīnā in both hands may be taken to be a consort of Saṁkarśaṇa *i.e.*, Sarasvatī.

DURGA AND HER VARIOUS FORMS

(*i*) Durgā

Ram Prasad Chanda has identified the image of a goddess[4] in the British museum whose one hand is in Varada mudrā, all the others being broken, having a lion and a deer for her Vāhana as that of Durgā. Hence, the two similar images at Khajurāho having lion and deer as Vāhanas and the one[5] carrying Pāśa in the upper two, the first in Varada pose and fourth being broken ; and the other[6] carrying Kamal in upper two hands first in Varada pose and with Ghaṭa in the fourth may be identified with Durgā.

*The Siṁha Vāhinī goddess[7] (Fig. 41) with the first hand in[8] Varada pose, carrying Triśūla, (three edges meeting) Pustaka and Ghaṭa in the rest, may be identified with Durgā. Durgā being a form of Gaurī can carry Ghaṭa.

*A six handed image of the[9] Siṁha Vāhinī goddess with the first hand in Varada pose, Triśūla in third and Kamaṅdalu in the sixth - the rest being broken, may also be taken to be that of Durgā.

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1. Museum
2. Museum
3. Lt outside Lak T.
4. Medieval Indian Sculpture in the British Museum, Ch. V, p. 45.
5. Rt Inner Pradak Viś N T.
6. Outside Sm T. on Lt front of Lak T.

* Goddess may be Mangalā according to B.C. Bhattacharya, Part I, p. 37.

7. Sm T on Rt front of Lak T.
8. Elements of Hindu Iconography by Gopi Nath Rao, 1914 and 1916, Vol. I, Part II, pp. 341-342.
9. Rt inner Pradak Lak T.

(*ii*) **Vana Durgā**

The image of Vanadurgā according to Suprabhedāgama[1] can have her first hand in Tarjanī pose carrying Śaṁkha, Chakra, Sword, Kheṭaka, Arrow, Bow and Triśūla. The broken six handed image of a goddess carrying[2] a sword in her third hand, Shield (Kheṭaka) and Triśūla in the fifth and sixth hands, the first being in Abhaya mudrā and the rest broken, may be identified with *Vana-Durgā*.

(*iii*) **Nandā**

According to Vishnudharmottara[3] Nandā has an Elephant Vāhana and her four handed images should be depicted with the first and fourth hands in Varada and Abhaya poses carrying Kamal and Aṁkuśa in the remaining two.

The Khajurāho images tally with this description in all the details save and except the fourth hand which carries a Kamaṅdalu[4] instead ; while her second image[5] has a Kamalnāla instead of Kamal besides the above variation.

(*iv*) **Dēvī**

According to Uttarakāmikāgama[6] the Dēvī carries Triśūla and Pāśa in her two hands. Hence the image with the first hand in Varada mudra[7], carrying Triśūla, Pāśa and Ghaṭa in the rest may be identified with her.

(*v*) **Bhuvaneśvarī**

This goddess[8] should have her lower hands in Varada and Abhaya mudrās holding Pāśa and Aṁkuśa in the upper two. She should also be decorated with ornaments.

The goddess[9] (Fig. 42) in the Lakshman temple with the same description as above only carrying a drinking vessel in

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1. Gopi Nath Rao, Vol. I, Part II, p. 343.
2. Lt inner Pradak Viś N T.
3. Gopi Nath Rao, Vol. I, Part II, p. 355.
4. Museum. 5. Museum.
6. Gopi Nath Rao, Vol I, Part II, p. 339.
7. Rt out Jag and Pārś N Ts. The latter may be taken to be Naraduttā or Bahurūpinī as she possesses all the āyudhas except Pāśa accordin to "Jain Iconography" by B.C. Bhattacharya, Chap. III, pp. 120-147.
8. Gopi Nath Rao, p. 371-372.

the fourth hand instead of its being in Abhaya mudrā may be identified with Bhuvaneśvarī for she being a form of Durgā can have the drinking vessel.

(vi) Sarvamaṅgalā

According to Gopi Nath Rao she should carry Akshasūtra, Padma, Śūla and Kamaṅdalu[1]. An image found in the Kandariā Mahādeva temple having Varada mudrā[2], Śūla (Śakti), Kamal and Kamaṅdalu can be taken to be that of Sarvamangalā. Here instead of having Akshasūtra her first hand is held in Varada mudrā.

(vii) Ghaṅtākarṇī

The characteristic āyudhas of Ghaṅtakārṇi Durgā are Triśūla and Ghaṅta[3]. Hence the four handed goddess with Sarpa[4], Ghaṅti or Bell and Ghaṭa in her three hands first being in Varada mudrā may be taken to be Ghantakarṇī who may have been given Sarpa in place of Triśūla which is another characteristic āyudha of her consort—Śiva.

(viii) Mahishāsuramardinī

According to Śilparatna[5] image of this goddess should be shown with the head of the buffalo cut off, from whose neck emerges the Asura with sword and shield in hand. She binds the Asura with her Pāśa and is seated on her Vāhana Lion or she may be shown killing the Buffalo demon.

As the following images are shown killing the Buffalo demon and carry the āyudhas prescribed in the texts[5] they are identified with Mahishāsuramardinī.

This six-handed image* is also that of the Mahishāsuramardinī[6]. Her first two hands are broken, the third one is uplifted holding a sword, shield (kheṭaka) and bow in the next two hands, and with the sixth she is holding the leg of the

1. Gopi Nath Rao, Vol. I Part II, p. 339.
2. Rt out Kand T.
3. Gopi Nath Rao, Vol.I, Part II, p. 341.
4. Rt inner pradak Viś N T.
5. Elements of Hindu Iconography by Gopi Nath Rao, 1914-1916, Vol. I, Part II, p. 345.

* See page 63 of this book.

6. Museum.

Buffalo whom she has upturned and whose head lies buried under its own body.

An eight-handed image* of the goddess (Fig. 43) carries[1] Spear and Pāśa, Sword, Bell, Shield (Kheṭaka) and spear in two hands thrusting it with all her might in the strong body of the Buffalo. Her fifth and seventh hands are broken.

The[2] twenty-handed image of this goddess (Fig. 44) holds cymbals in her uppermost left and right hands all the remaining 18 hands being broken. But from the neck of the Buffalo whose head has been cut off emerges the demon whose head is broken. In Chausaṭh Joginī, Goddess[3] has 20 hands holding Sword, Shield and Hoops—rest are broken.

OTHER FORMS OF DEVĪ

(*i*) Ambikā

According to Gopi Nath Rao Ambikā[4] should have Lion Vahana having Sword, Shield and Mirror in three hands first being in Varada pose.

At Khajurāho[5] the goddess has been depicted with Lion Vāhana, having Gaṇeśa and Kārtikeya in her Prabhāvalī. Her hands and face are broken.

The[6] Lion Vahinī goddess with a baby[7] on her left arm may be identified with Ambikā due to her Vāhana. She has a baby for the reasons given in Pārvatī's marriage with Śiva.

(*ii*) Tripurā

According to Gopi Nath Rao[8] the goddess Tripurā, an aspect of Gaurī should be depicted with first and fourth hands

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* Note : In text only 10 or 20 hands are assigned to this goddess Ref. see 5 p. 62 of this book.

1. Lt inner pradak Lak T.
2. Museum.
3. Chausath Joginī temple.
4. Elements of Hindu Iconography by Gopi Nath Rao, 1914-16, Vol. I, Part II, p. 359.
5. Rt inner pradak T.
6. Lt (back) inner pradak Lak T (remaining hands broken). She can also be a Jain Yakshini of the same name "Jain Iconography" by B.C. Bhattacharya, 145-47.
7. Iconography of Buddhist and Brahmanical sculptures in the Dacca Museum by N.K. Bhattasali, p. 138.
8. Gopi Nath Rao, Vol. I, Part II, p. 361.

in Varada and Abhaya poses carrying Aṁkuśa and Pāśa in the upper two hands.

A seated image of a goddess[1] found in the museum having the first hand in Varada pose and carrying Aṁkuśa, Pāśa and Kamaṅḍalu in the rest, may safely be identified with Tripurā even though the fourth hand does not tally with Gopi Nath Rao's description. Being an aspect of Gaurī she can also carry a Ghaṭa.

(*iii*) Pārvatī

According to Gopi Nath Rao[2] Pārvatī has an alligator for her Vāhana. Hence the images[3] which have an alligator as vehicle but whose hands are broken (Fig. 49) may be identified with Pārvatī. It may be noted here that the alligator has been depicted more or less like a mongoose[4].

The eight-handed goddess with first hand in[5] Varada pose, holding Ghaṭa in the eighth, having the fourth and fifth hands folded in Añjali pose, (rest broken), sitting in Padmāsana may be taken to be the image of Pārvatī who is performing the Tapasu.

(*iv*) Pārvatī (vaivāhika) *i.e.*, Gaurī*

In Brahma-purāṇa, Chap. XXXVIII, page 177 occur the following lines about the marriage of Śiva and Pārvatī, quoted from N.K. Bhattasali's "Iconography of Buddhist and Brahmanical Sculptures" pages 137-138, Part II, Chap. III.

"When the divine daughter of the mountain came with a garland in her hands to the assembly of gods where she was to choose her husband, Śiva, in order to test her assumed the form

1. Museum.
2. Elements of Hindu Iconography by Gopi Nath Rao, Vol. I, Part II, p. 360.
3. Pārvatī T., Museum, (hands broken).
4. Bhattasali in his Iconography of Buddhist and Brahmanical Sculptures in the Dacca Museum writes on p. 200 that sometimes the alligator has been depicted like a "mongoose" by the ignorant sculptors.
5. Museum (no Vāhana).

*Gaurī is represented as holding her child on her lap, thus showing the typical motherhood.—Indian Images by B.C. Bhattacharya, Part I, p. 36.

of a child and was found sleeping on the lap of the bride. She, perceiving the child and coming to know through meditation that he was the god Śiva himself, accepted him with pleasure. Then the daughter of the mountain, glad to receive the husband that her heart desired for, returned from the assembly holding the child against her breast."

Two images* of a goddess with[1] Pāśa, Ārasi in the upper two hands and a baby in the lower two hands held against the breast, (the upper two hands of the second[2] being broken, lower two holding the baby) may be identified with the Vaivāhika images relating to the marriage of Śiva and Pārvatī (Fig. 50). Pārvatī being an aspect of Umā[3] can have Ārasī and being that of Tripura[4] she can carry Pāśa.

(*v*) **Ambā**

According to Rao[5] Ambā should carry Pāśa, Padma, Pātra and Abhaya mudrā in her four hands. At Khajurāho three such images have been found, differing in minor details from one another.

The one found in Lakshman temple[6] has the first hand in Varada mudrā, and the Rope Paśa, Padma, Khappara (Pātra) in the other three hands. The other image[7] has Ghaṭa in the fourth hand instead of Khappara, while the third[8] differs from the second as regards the description of the first hand which is placed on her knee instead of being in Varada mudrā.

(*vi*) **Sivā**

Śivā should be shown[9] having Varada, Triśūla, Ḍamarū and Abhaya. Hence the goddess in Jagdambī temple[10] with the

*One more image has been found in the Rt Inner Pradak, Viś. N. T. The āyudhas given in first two hands are not clear, in the third, she has Ārasī and supporting the child in lap with the fourth.

1. Museum.
2. Rt inner Pradak Lak T.
3. Gopi Nath Rao, Vol. I, Part II, p. 360.
4. Ibid., Vol. I, Part II, p. 361.
5. Gopi Nath Rao, Vol. I, Part II, p. 359.
6. Rt inner Pradak Lak. T.
7. Rt out Jag. & Kanḍ. T.
8. Lt out Viś. N. T.
9. Gopi Nath Rao, Vol. I, Part II, p. 366.
10. Lt out Jag. T.

description Varada, Triśūla, Sarpa and Ghaṭa can be identified with Sivā. Because, in northern India Śiva is given Triśūla and Sarpa[1] instead of Triśūla and Ḍamarū[2]. Being the consort of Śiva, this variation of Āyudhas in her hands can be justified.

(*vii*) Yogēśvarī

The six-handed goddess carrying Spear, Triśūla, Bell and Ghaṭa with the first two hands in Varada and Abhaya mudrās[3], may be identified with Yogeśvarī who can have[4] Spear, Triśūla, Bell, Sword, Ḍamarū, Khēṭaka and Khaṭavānga in her ten-handed image. Ghaṭa may be justified in her hands as she is a form of Gauri or Umā.

Another eight-handed image of the same goddess carrying Triśūla, Ḍamarū, Sword, Shield (Kheṭaka)[5] in four hands her first and last three hands being broken has been found in the Dūlādeo temple.

Yogēśvarī being a form of Ambikā[6], she may have lion as her Vāhana. The following two ten-handed images with lion vāhana may be identified with Yogēśvarī.

One of them carries[7] (Fig. 51) Triśūla, Sword, Bell, Abhaya, Khappara, Shield (Kheṭaka), Ghaṭa, Knife and the remaining two being broken, whereas the other is shown[8] with first hand in Varada and also having rosary in it, the remaining carrying Triśūla, Ḍamarū, Shield (Kheṭaka), Pustaka, Sarpa, Khappara in her third, fifth, sixth, seventh, ninth and tenth hands ; second, fourth and eighth being broken.

SAPTAMĀTṚKAS

To kill Andhakāsura the seven gods[9] Brahma, Maheśvara, Kumāra, Viṣṇu, Varāha, Indra and Yama gave their Śaktis to

1. C. Siva Ram Murti's Article—Ancient India 1950, No. 6, p. 52.
2. Gopi Nath Rao, Vol. 2, Part I, p. 115.
3. Museum.
4. Gopi Nath Rao, Vol. I, Part II, p. 365.
5. Lt out Dūlādeo T.
6. Gopi Nath Rao, Vol. I, Part II, p. 350.
7. Lt out Lak. T.
8. Rt inner Pradak. Lak. T.
9. Elements of Hindu Iconography by Gopi Nath Rao, Vol. I, Part II, p. 380.

Śiva for help. They carry same weapons as their male counterparts. In some cases[1] Gaṇeśa and Vīrabhadra are also shown with this group, the latter is also playing on Vīnā.

A number of Saptamātṛka panels have been found on the sanctum gates[2] or elsewhere[3] depicting the seven mothers along with Vīrabhadra and Gaṇeśa.

As given in Fig. 45 first of all there is Vīrabhadra playing on his Vīna, then there is Brahmāṇi with the Ghaṭa, Māheśvarī with the baby sitting on her laps, Kaumārī with the Śakti, Vaisṇavi, Vārāhī and Indrāṇi with the babies in their laps, Chāmundā holding her chin as if wondering, carries a Khaṭavāṅga in her hand and wears the garland of Skulls round her Chignon, Gaṇeśa prominent due to his elephant trunk is seated next to her.

I. VAISHṆAVĪ

According to Dēvīpurāṇa[4] the goddess should carry Śaṁkha, Chakra, Gadā and Padma and according to Varāhapurāṇa[5] she may have Abhaya and Varada mudrās in two hands carrying Śaṁkha and Chakra in other two and have Garuḍa for her Vāhana.

The Khajurāho sculptures depict her with[6] Abhaya or Varada mudrā (Fig. 46), Gadā, Chakra and Śaṁkha in her hands. She is also seated on the Garuḍa her Vāhana.

At Chattarpur the Garuḍa Vahinī Vaishṇavī is shown with[7] Varada mudrā in first hand, Kamal in upper two, holding Ghaṭa in the fourth one. Since she has Kamal in upper two hands she can also be taken to be Lakshmi.

The goddess with[8] Varada pose holding Kamal, Chakra and Ghaṭa may also be identified with Vaishṇavī who may have been

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1. Elements of Hindu Iconography by Gopi Nath Rao, Vol. I, Part II, p. 388.
2. Sanctum gate of Ādināth T. 3. Museum, base of Kand & Jag Ts.
4 & 5. Elements of Hindu Iconography by Gopi Nath Rao, 1914-1916, Vol. I, Part II, p. 384.
6. Lt out Ādi N.T., Rt out Jag T (No Vāhana is depicted).
7. G.S. Chattarpur. Top of Rt Pillar inside sanctum gate Chbh T (Vāhana absent).
8. Inside sanctum gate Vāman T.

given Kamal, in place of Gadā, it also being the attributive article of her consort Viṣṇu.

The eight-handed goddess sitting on Garuḍa[1] who has Fruit in the first hand and Śamkha in the eighth may also be taken to be Vaishṇavī even though her six hands are broken.

A twelve-handed[2] Garuḍa Vāhinī Vaishṇavī (Fig. 47) with Sword and Shield (Kheṭaka) in her two hands all the other being broken seems to be depicted in her Vikarālarūpa.

II. BRAHMĀNI

According to Varāha-purāṇa Brahmāṇi[3] should be depicted with two hands in Varada and Abhaya mudrās, the remaining two carrying the weapons of her male counterparts. Hence the following images at Khajurāho may be identified with her.

The first image of the goddess has her first hand in Varada pose carrying Sruvā and Pustaka in second and third while the fourth carries Ghaṭa[4] (Fig. 48) or is broken.[5] Beside her the Vāhana Haṁsa is also shown.

The three faced depiction of this goddess has also been found and there she carries Sruvā[6], Kamal and Pustaka in her last three hands the first being broken or Kamaṅdalu[7] and Sruvā in her first two hands, third being broken and fourth pointing downwards.

III. MAHEŚVARI

The four-handed goddess[8] with first hand in Abhaya mudrā and Sarpa in the third (second and fourth being broken) having Bull for her Vāhana may be identified with Māheśvarī who according to Varāhapurāṇa[9] has Bull Vāhana and carries Triśūla and Akshamālā in upper two hands first and fourth being in Varada and Abhaya poses.

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1 & 2. Museum.
3. Gopi Nath Rao, 1914-1916, Vol. I, Part II, p. 382.
4. Dēvī Temple Sanctum. 5. Sm T rt back Lak T.
6. Lt our Kanḍ T, Museum & Chausath Joginī Cell (all hands are broken here).
7. Rt out Lak T.
8. Lt outside Kanḍ T.
9. Elements of Hindu Iconography by Gopinath Rao, 1914-1916, Vol. I, Part II, p. 387.

IV. CHĀMUṆḌĀ AND HER VARIOUS FORMS

(i) Rudra Chāmuṇḍā

A Kaṅkālī goddess who carries Ḍamarū, Triśūla, Dagger, Khappara, Skull (Naramuṇḍa) and with the sixth hand broken[1] may be identified with Rudra Chāmuṇḍa though she does not hold here the elephant skin in two of her upper hands. The description of the āyudhas is mostly in accordance with that of Rudra and Siddha Chāmuṇḍā as given by N.K. Bhattasali[2] who also says that only Rudra Chāmuṇḍā should have six hands.

(ii) Siddha Yogēśvarī

A Kaṅkālī goddess having twelve hands, ten of which are broken, is holding a naked figure of a man[3] by one of his legs and hands. In an angry mood she seems to be ready to tear off the body. She may be identified with *Siddha Yogēśvarī*[4] according to N. K. Bhattasali because images of Chāmuṇḍā having more than ten hands fall under this category, except for the fact that instead of an elephant skin she holds here a naked man by his leg and arm.

Another image[5] (Fig. 52) having sixteen hands and holding elephant skin in two, the rest being broken, has been in the same way identified with Siddha Yogēśvarī according to N.K. Bhattasali's description.

V. VĀRĀHĪ

According to Varāha-purāṇa[6] Vārāhī should have an elephant Vāhana and her upper two hands should be carrying Plough and Śakti with first and fourth in Varada and Abhaya poses.

The Vārāhī[7] goddess found in the museum (Fig. 53) with four hands three of which are broken, carries a bowl in the upper right hand. Her Vāhana here is Buffalo. She is looking at

1. Sanctum gate Dūlādeo T.
2. N.K. Bhattasali, pp. 210 and 209.
3. Museum.
4. N. K. Bhattasali, p. 210.
5. Museum.
6. Gopi Nath Rao, Vol. I, Part II, p. 388.
7. Museum.

the bowl as if trying to lick the contents of it. She being the Śakti of Yama can also have Buffalo for her Vāhāna.[1]

VI. KAUMĀRĪ

According to Varāha-purāna[2] the four-handed image of Kaumārī has a peacock Vāhana with her first and fourth hands in Varada and Abhaya poses carrying Śakti and Kukkuṭa in the second and third.

The three faced images of Kaumārī with her peacock Vāhana are depicted with Kamaṅdalu,[3] Śakti and Pāśa fourth being broken (Fig. 54).

A single faced image[4*] with peacock Vāhana has flower in her upper two hands the lower two being broken.

No separate depiction of the seventh Saptamātṛka-Indrani, has been found except into the Saptamātṛka panel.

General Summary

From the above description it becomes clear that Khajurāho sculptors have made unorthodox variations from the sacred texts in the depiction of icons. The following list maintaining the clockwise order (rt lower, rt upper, lt upper and lt lower) will illustrate at a glance the above stated fact.

According to the Śilparatna, Viṣṇu or any of his minor manifestations should carry the four attributive āyudhas--Śaṁkha, Chakra, Gadā and Padma in his four hands in varying order. At Khajurāho, one of these four āyudhas is almost invariably replaced by one of the god's hands shown in one of the following four mūdrās, *viz.*, Varada, Abhaya, Kaṭi and Āliṅgana poses.

1. Devī Kavacham, line 9.
2. Gopi Nath Rao, 1914-1916, Vol. I, Part II, p. 388.
3. Lt out Kanḍ & Ādi N Ts (All hands broken one carrying spear), Lt out Jag T.
4. Lt out Pārs N T.

*She may be taken to be the Jain Yakshini Nirvānī or Mahāmānasī who has been given Flower according to Svetāmbara āyudhas and has her vehicle according to Digambara description.—"Jain Iconography" by B.C. Bhattacharya, pp. 120 to 147.

Keśava	Varada with Rosary, Śaṁkha, Chakra, Gadā
	Abhaya, " " "
Trivikrama	Varada, Gadā, Chakra, Śaṁkha
	Abhaya, " " "
Mādhava	Gadā, Chakra, Śaṁkha, Āliṅgana
Hṛishīkēśa	Abhaya, Chakra, Padma, Śaṁkha
	Varada with Rosary, Chakra, Padma, Śaṁkha
Saṁkārshaṇa	Kaṭi, Śaṁkha, Padma, Chakra
Purushōttama	Chakra, Padma, Śaṁkha, Kaṭi
	Varada with Rosary, Padma, Śaṁkha, Gadā
Achyuta	Varada, Padma, Chakra, Śaṁkha
Śeshaśāyina	Gadā, Supporting head, Chakra, Śaṁkha
Janārdana	Abhaya, Chakra, Śaṁkha, Gadā
	Āliṅgana, " " "
Upendra	Śaṁkha, Gadā Chakra, Āliṅgana
Śri Krishṇa	Kaṭi, Gadā, Padma, Chakra
	Śaṁkha, " " Āliṅgana
*Madhusūdana or Saṁkarshaṇa	Varada, Śaṁkha, Padma, Ghaṭa
Upēndra or Trivikrama	" Gadā, Chakra, "
Vāsudeva or Kēshava	Varada, Śaṁkha, Chakra, Ghaṭa
Aniruddha or Adhokshaja	" Gadā, Śaṁkha, Āliṅgana
Nārāyaṇa or Narasiṁha	Resting on knee, Padma, Gadā, Āliṅgana
Viṣṇu	Varada, Chakra, Padma, Ghaṭa.

Even as regards the depiction of the ten incarnations of Viṣṇu, slight changes were introduced.

1. The depiction of Kūrma and Matsya-avatāras is not half-fish or tortoise and half-human as prescribed in the texts but they are depicted in yōgāsana sitting on Fish or Tortoise.

*Vide foot-note p. 34.

2. The Varāha depiction does not tally with the prescriptions of the sacred texts in any of the three forms, *viz.*, Bhūvarāha, Yajñavarāha or Pralayavarāha of the Texts.

3. Paraśurāma is shown with four hands instead of two, carrying three of the characteristic āyudhas of Viṣṇu in addition to Paraśu.

4. The eleven-headed Viṣṇu, sixty-four-handed Viṣṇu, and his Prāṇāyāma mūrti or the eight-handed image seated on an elephant, are the rarest depictions of their kind no parallels to which are found in either the texts or perhaps in sculptures elsewhere.

Siva's Images

The four-handed Śāntamūrtis of Śiva are depicted at Khajurāho partially in accordance with the Northern depiction of Śiva which assigns Triśūla and Sarpa (as characteristic āyudhas) in respect of two hands while of the remaining two, one is posed in one of the four common poses (Varada, Abhaya, Kaṭi, Āliṅgana) and the other holds one of the usual articles such as Fruit, Flower, Ghaṭa or Pustaka. This again reflects the great liberty that the Khajurāho sculptors took in depicting icons with various arrangements of āyudhas Sometimes they gave to Śiva only one of the two above given characteristic āyudhas with common poses and articles in the remaining three hands.

To the first category belong the following images in :–

Varada	pose with	Triśūla.	Sarpa.	Kaṭi pose.
,,	,,	,,	,,	Āliṅgana.
,,	,,	,,	,,	Ghaṭa.
Abhaya	,,	,,	,,	Kaṭi.
,,	,,	,,	,,	Ghaṭa.
,,	,,	,,	,,	Fruit.
,,	,,	,,	,,	Abhaya.
Kaṭi	,,	,,	,,	Āliṅgana.
,,	,,	,,	,,	Ghaṭa.
Ghaṭa	,,	,,	,,	Kaṭi.
Triśūla,		Kamal,	Sarpa,	Kaṭi.

Ghaṭa,	Triśula,	Sarpa	Āliṅgana.
Fruit,	,,	,,	,,
Kamal,	,,	,,	,,
Kamal,	,,	,,	Kaṭi.
Fruit,	,,	,,	,,

Other depictions of Śiva are divisible in two sections—firstly those images which are depicted with Triśūla only and secondly the ones carrying Sarpa alone :—

(*i*) Varada pose,	Triśūla,	Pāśa,	Ghaṭa	Bull Vāhana
,,	,,	Kamal,	,,	
,,	,,	Pustaka,	,,	
Fruit,	,,	Pāśa,	Kaṭi	Bull Vāhana
Kaṭi,	Pāśa,	Triśula,	Ghaṭa	

(*ii*) The Second depicts :—

Varada pose,	Pustaka,	Sarpa,	Ghaṭa.
,,	Kamal,	,,	,,
*,,	Pāśa,	,,	Kaṭi.
Abhaya pose,	,,	,,	,,
,,	Sarpa,	Kamal,	Ghaṭa.
Kaṭi ,,	Pāśa,	Sarpa,	,,
,,	,,	,,	Āliṅgana.
*,,	Sarpa,	Pāśa.	Ghaṭā.
,,	,,	,,	Fruit.
Fruit	,,	,,	Kaṭi with Bull Vāhana.
Kaṭi	Kamal,	Sarpa,	Fruit.
,,	,,	,,	Flower.
Ghaṭa,	Pāśa,	,,	Āliṅgana.
Kamal,	Sarpa,	Paśa,	Ghaṭa.
Bull Vāhana-Pustaka,	,,	Ghaṭa,	Kaṭi.
,, ,,- Varada pose,	Pāśa,	Pustaka,	Ghaṭa.

Besides the above a number of Natarāja Mūrtis of Śiva having four, eight and twelve hands have been found though according to B.C. Bhattacharya they are of rare occurrence in Northern India. These too differ in details of the poses

*Vide foot-note p. 49.

and the depiction of āyudhas in their hands from those prescribed in the Texts.

The Āliṅgana mūrti of Śiva touching the chin of his consort, Śiva-Pārvatī marriage scene, Tripurāntaka mūrti with consort and Aghora mūrtis are unique in their depiction. The amalgamation of Bull—which stands for Dharma, with Śiva led to the construction of a seven-headed and four-legged image bespeaks of the zenith of new introductions in the study of iconography.

The Bhairava form of Śiva has been depicted nude, sitting on a dog, holding the dog's chain in hand according to the descriptions given in various texts but differing in respect of other āyudhas again showing thereby that the Khajurāho sculptors were not partial to any one of the texts. They retained from the texts only some one iconic feature peculiar to a particular god and supplemented the rest with intelligent variations.

Śakti

Coming to the Śakti images we find that none of them is depicted in complete accordance with one text, combining in the depiction the characteristic features of two or more texts, *e.g.*, Gajalakshmī depicted with Lion Vāhana ; Durgā with both lion and deer. The latter has also been depicted in her various forms—Dēvī, Vanadurgā, Naṅdā, Bhuvaneśvarī, Sarvamaṅgalā, Ghaṅṭākarṇī, Mahishāsuramardinī etc.

Mahishāsuramardinī alone has been depicted having six, eight and twenty hands, upturning the buffalo with its legs in her hands, severing the buffalo's head or killing the Asura coming out from the mouth of the buffalo.

Most of the Saptamātṛkas have been depicted individually in their various forms besides being together in one panel. Māheśvari alone has been depicted in her Ambikā, Tripurā, Pārvatī, Gaurī (Vaivāhika image with the child in her laps), Ambā, Śivā and Yogēśvarī forms with varying āyudhas in her hands. Chāmundā images having six, twelve and sixteen hands have also been depicted.

The depiction of Chāmuṇḍā tearing off the body of a naked man, besides the elephant-skin canopied goddess, is again a new element to be found for the first time at Khajurāho only.

Similarly the sections dealing with miscellaneous gods and goddesses which follow later will further support the above given peculiarities. The separate depictions of Navagrahas, Hayagrīva, Ādityas and other minor gods and goddesses described ahead, though said to be rare are commonly found at Khajurāho.

Thus we come to the conclusion that Khajurāho sculptors were most unorthodoxical and liberal in the practice of their art.

CHAPTER IV

KHAJURĀHO ICONOGRAPHY—MINOR AND MISCELLANEOUS DEITIES

A striking feature of Hinduism in the ninth and tenth centuries was the bewildering variety of minor gods and goddesses that came to be worshipped by the people. The icons of these minor deities are usually found in the temples of the major deities all over the country, but they are perhaps nowhere to be found in such enormous numbers as in the Khajurāho temples. We shall discuss the iconography of these minor gods in this chapter.

Some of these minor deities are ancient Vedic gods who have fallen from their high status of Vedic times, but are still continued to be worshipped by small groups. Others are "derivative" gods, so to speak, whose appeal is, again, to the minds of small sects as 'partial'' manifestations of their main sectarian gods ; some are foreign importations.

Sūrya

"Sūrya" was a Vedic god. Aśvalyāyana (III—7-4-6) enjoins the daily worship of the Sun. A regular sect of the "Sauryas" or Sun-worshippers grew up in the course of time. The Govindpura inscription of 1137-38 A.D. in the Gaya district however mentions the 'Magas', said to be the sons of 'Jaraśashta', as the priests of this sect. They are none other than the Magi of ancient Persia, followers of Zarathustra, the Parsī prophet. Thus, there is a strong suspicion of foreign influence in the growth of the Saura sect. The Mandasaur inscription of 437 A.D. refers to the construction of a Sun temple by a weavers' guild. The Bulandshahar (U.P.) inscription of 511 A.D. speaks of another temple. A number of such temples have been discovered in Western India from Multan down to Cutch and Northern Gujarat.

Varāhamihira was the first to lay down, in his Bṛihat Saṁhitā (Chap. 58), rules for the construction of the image of

the Sun. The icon should wear long boots, and a girdle at the waist (Verses 46 and 47). One of the Vardhanas of Thaneswara seems to have been a devout 'Saura' and was styled as 'Paramāditya bhakta'.

According to Viśvakarmaśilpa[1], Sūrya should have one wheeled chariot drawn by seven horses. He should carry Kamal in both his hands, wear armour with a shield at his bosom and he should be decorated with ornaments. An image of this description has been found at Chattarpur[2] but it carries Kamal, Chakra and Gadā in its hands with the fourth in Varada mudrā (Fig. 55). This is actually the arrangement of weapons of Śridhara—a minor form of Viṣṇu. Hence this Khajurāho image of Sūrya corroborates the fact that Viṣṇu[3] was considered to be a successor of the Vedic Sūrya as in the Purāṇas. Such Sūrya images are not now extant at Khajurāho. The images there have five or seven horses carved on their pedestals, wear boots and carry the Lotus in the upper two hands. We have no support in the Purāṇas for Sūrya wearing boots but the discovery of an image at Chittorgarh[3] (Mārwara) with boots proves that this iconic concept was common in Northern India.

The central image[4] enshrined in the sanctum of the Bharat Chitragupta temple (which is dedicated to Sūrya) has four hands all of which are mutilated. It wears boots and has seven horses carved on its pedestal. Ushā and Pratyushā are shown on his right and left. Similar standing images have also been found in the museum with seven (Fig. 56) or five horses carrying Kamal in the upper two hands, the lower two being mostly broken.

Seated Sūrya[5] image with legs (hidden under boots) crossed, holding Kamal in its two hands has also been found (Fig. 57).

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1. Elements of Hindu Iconography—Gopi Nath Rao, Vol. I, Pt. II, p. 313.
2. The image has been removed to Gandhi Smarak Chattarpur from Khajurāho itself.
3. Elements of Hindu Iconography, Gopi Nath Rao, Vol. I, Part II, p. 314.
4. Sanctum Bhch T. Museum (two hands only, both broken).
5. Museum.

In another image, the god with his consort Chhāyā has been shown with first hand on Kaṭi[1], Kamal in upper two anc fourth in Āliṅgana mudrā. His consort carries a flower in hei hand. The identification is based on Viśvakarma-śilpaśāstra and the depiction of Sūrya images at Khajurāho.

According to Rūpamaṇḍana[3], the characteristic āyudha in the hands of Sūrya should be Kamal, in two hands Viśvakarmaśāstra[4] also supports this view, adding at the sam time, that the remaining two hands (in case of four-hande images only) should carry Kamaṇḍalu and Akshamālā. Th images identified with the Sun-god and described below, do no follow the arrangement of āyudhas, as prescribed in th Viśvakarmaśāstra. These images have Kamal in their uppe two hands as is commonly depicted in the hands of Sūrya a Khajurāho.

In this variety, besides Kamal in the upper two hand the first hand is in Varada[5] mudrā, Abhaya[6] mudrā or Kaṭihasta pose and the fourth carries Kamaṇḍalu. In one case, th Kaṭihasta has been exchanged with Ghaṭa making the arrangement[8] Ghaṭa, Kamal, Kamal and Kaṭi.

(i) Pūśāna (Ādityas)

According to the description of Ādityas given in the Viś vakarma Sāstra[9] Pūśāna should carry Kamal in all the fou hands. But at Khajurāho we find that this god has bee given two common articles in the first and fourth hands wit Kamal in the upper two. In absence of other characteristics o Sūrya image the following images have been taken to be thos of Puśāna.

1. Lt. out Jag. T.
2. Gopi Nath Rao, Vol. I, Part II, pp. 310-13.
3. Elements of Hindu Iconography by Gopi Nath Rao, Vol. I, Part II pp. 322-23.
4. *Ibid.*, Vol. I, Part II, p. 310.
5. Lt out Jag. & Rt out Bh. Ch., Jag. & Kand. Ts.
6. Lt & Rt out Jag. T.
7. Lt out Jag. T.
8. Lt out Kand., Jag. and Lak. Ts.
9. Elements of Hindu Iconography, Gopi Nath Rao, Vol. I, Part II p. 310.

(a) Some of the images of the above type, have their first hand in the Abhaya mudrā and with Kamal in the second and third hands they carry Fruit[1] in the fourth or it is in Kaṭihasta[2] mudra or hangs down[3].

(b) The other images have their first hand resting on Kaṭi (second and third being as above) and the fourth one carries Flower[4], Fruit[5] or is in Abhaya[6] mudrā.

Here the first and fourth hands have been interchanged thus having Fruit[7] in the first and Kaṭi hasta pose in the fourth.

(ii) Sāvitrī

According to the description of the Ādityas given in the Viśvakarma Śāstra[8], Sāvitrī should carry Kamal, Gadā, Chakra and Kamal in his four hands. Retaining the āyudhas in three hands only (Kamal, Kamal and Gadā) the Khajurāho sculptors have given Fruit—one of the seven common articles, in the remaining fourth hand and have also changed the order of āyudhas.

In one image[9], the God carries Fruit, Kamal, Kamal and Gadā.

In another image, the āyudhas of first and fourth hands have been interchanged making the order[10] Gadā, Kamal, Kamal and Fruit. The above images may be identified with that of Sāvitrī.

Sāvitrī[11] when depicted with his consort in Āliṅgana

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1. Museum.
2. Lt out Jag., Kand. and Lak. Ts.
3. Back out Pārś. N.T. can be taken to be Garuda according to "Jain Iconography" by B.C. Bhattacharya—pp. 90-119. But here the Vāhana and Nakula is not shown.
4. Rt and Lt out Jag. T.
5. Lt out Pārs'. N.T.
6. Lt out Jag. T.
7. Lt out Pārś. N T.
8. Elements of Hindu Iconography—Gopi Nath Rao, Vol. I, Part II, p. 310.
9. Lt out Pārś. N T.
10. Lt out Pārś. N T.
11. Elements of Hindu Iconography by Gopi Nath Rao, Vol. I, Part II, p. 310.

mudrā[1] carries Kamal in upper two hands and Gadā in the fourth. The goddess stands to his right with Kamal in her hand.

(iii) Rudra

Rudra, according to the description of Ādityas in the Viśvakarma Śāstra[2], should carry Kamal, Akshmālā, Chakra and Kamal. At Khajurāho, he has been depicted with Kamal in the upper two hands (second and third) instead of the lower two, carrying Chakra[3] in the first and Varada hasta with Rosary in the fourth hands.

THE MINOR GODDESSES

Vāruṇī

The goddess carrying Pāśa in the upper two hands with first hand in Varada pose and fourth carrying a Ghaṭa[4] (or broken[5]), may be identified with Vāruṇī, who being the consort of Varuṇa can carry his attributive weapons Pāśa[6] in the upper two hands and Ratnapātra and Varada pose in the remaining. (See description of Varuṇa carrying these āyudhas.)

Narasiṁhī

The lion-faced Narasiṁhī goddess – Śakti of her male counterpart, depicted at Khajurāho has Varada[7] and Ghaṭa in her first and fourth hands the upper two being broken. Due to her face (Fig. 58) her identification is beyond doubt.

Kālī

Mahākālī is described by Gopi Nath Rao[8] as having Pātra (Bowl) in one of her four hands. Here eight-handed image can also carry Gadā. So the image shown[9] with Bowl, Abhaya

1. Rt out Pārś. N T.
2. Elements of Hindu Iconography by Gopi Nath Rao, Vol. I, Part II, p. 310.
3. Lt out Lak. T.
4. Rt out Jag T.
5. Sm T at the back of Viś N T.
6. Martin's—Iconography of Southern India, Fig. 33, p. 106.
7. Rt out Chbh T,
8. Gopi Nath Rao, Elements of Hindu Iconography, Vol. I, Pt. II, p. 358.
9. Base of Pratāp T.

mudrā, hand broken and Gadā may be taken to be that of Kālī instead of Mahākālī because she is not wearing the garland of skulls that Mahākālī should have.

Sadyojāta

The images of mother and child lying on a couch with the mother's right hand under her head and left one holding a Lotus, and the child lying to her left resting his feet on a lotus; Gaṇeśa and Kārtikeya or the nine planets depicted on top or the corners, having a maiden to shampoo the feet of the female image lying should be identified with Sadyojāta[1].

At Khajurāho two big broken images (Fig. 59) with the woman[2] lying under a Śeshanāga canopy with the baby as described above (she does not have Lotus in her left hand, nor does the child rest his foot on lotus) with most of its upper part broken (hence failing to depict Gaṇesha, Kārtikēya or the Nava Gaṇas) may be identified with Sadyojāta.

Manasā

Manasā[3] is the figure of the Dēvī holding the child Āṣtika on her lap with a seven-hooded nāga canopy[4]. The canopy behind her is the true mark of identification.

Thus many Nāga canopied goddesses, mostly depicted in the Kandariā and other big temples in Añjali hasta poses, holding Ārsī[5] or setting head jewellery, may be identified with Manasā.

Gaṅgā-Yamunā

The images[6] of Magaravāhinī Gangā and Kaśyapavāhinī Yamunā in devotional attitude should carry Chāmara and Kamal, and Chāmara and Nīlotpal in their two hands respectively. They[7] have been depicted on the sanctum gates of many of the temples

1. N.K. Bhattasali, p. 135.
2. Museum.
3. B.C. Bhattacharya, Vol. I, Chap. II, p. 39.
4. G.S. Chattarpur.
5. Back outside Lak T.
6. Elements of Hindu Iconography by Gopi Nath Rao, 1914-1916, Vol. II, Part II, p. 531.
7. Brahmā temple entrance gate, Museum gate and sanctum gates of Viś N, Kanḍ Ts. etc.

and also as attendants of Varuṇa. Sometimes they are also depicted without their Vāhanas and carrying only one of the above two characteristic attributes (Figs. 60, 61).

Mahākālī

A few two-handed images have also been found carrying a Drinking vessel in the first hand with Gada[1] or Naramuṇḍa[2] or Aṁkuśa[3] in the second. She may be identified with Mahākālī according to Gopi Nath Rao[4] who assigns Sword, Shield, Pātra, Kapāla to the four-handed image of this goddess. The āyudhas of second hand may be justified in her hands as Dēvī[5] who is another manifestation of this goddess, carries them.

Manonmanī

The naked goddess (Fig. 62) on the base of Partāpeśvara temple[6] with Bowl (Kapāla) and a crooked sword in her hands having the skeleton of a man beside her can be none other than Manonmanī.[7]

MISCELLANEOUS GODDESSES

The images of goddesses which are being described below have been mostly depicted without their Vāhanas, hence the main distinguishing feature is absent. Moreover the āyudhas that they have been given do not tally exactly with the ones given in the texts. An effort is made here to give their probable identifications on the basis of the attributive weapons which are held by the goddesses and which conform as nearly as possible with those given in the texts.

Sarasvatī and Bālā

This image may be identified with a combined form of Sarasvatī and Bālā. It carries Pustaka[8] in the upper two hands with the first in Abhaya pose and fourth carrying a Fruit.

1. Lt out Viś N.T.
2. Back out Lak T.
3. Lt back out Lak T.
4. Gopi Nath Rao, Vol. I, Part II, p. 358.
5. Ibid., p. 339.
6. Base of Pratāpeśvar T.
7. Gopi Nath Rao, Vol. I, Part II, p. 364.
8. Lt out Viś N.T.

According to Agnipurāṇa[1] Chap. 319 Sarasvatī can have Varada pose, Rosary, Abhaya pose and Pustaka in her four hands. Bālā according to Dēvī Purāṇa[2] as quoted by Gopi Nath Rao also has the same āyudhas in her four hands. Hence this particular image may be a combination of both Bālā and Sarasvatī or any one of them individually.

Aparājitā or Kālī

According to the description given in Gopi Nath Rao's Hindu Iconography[3] Aparājitā can have Bow, Arrow, Sword and Kheṭaka in her four hands. On the base of Pratāpeśvara temple[4] a goddess is shown with Bow, Sword and Khappara in her first, third and fourth hands—the second being broken. She may be taken to be Aparājitā or Kāli, preferably the latter as it is a naked image. She also carries two of the āyudhas Khaḍga, Kheṭaka, Pātra and Kapāla given in the four hands of Mahākālī[5].

Chāmuṅdā or Kālī

The image found at Khajurāho has Sword[6], Khappara, Skull (Naramuṅda) and the fourth hand is broken. She is shown with "flesh dried up, bones showing through the skin, eyes sunken, abdomen contracted, hair standing at ends with snakes peeping out". She has the Khappara near her mouth and seems to be licking its contents. According to this last description which tallies with the one given in "Iconography of Buddhist and Brahmanical Sculptures in Dacca Museum" by N.K. Bhattasali—p. 200, she seems to be Chāmuṅda. The above image may be taken to be a form of Kālī or Chāmuṅda, because Ram Prasad Chanda[7] has identified an eight-handed image having

1. Iconography of Buddhist and Brahmanical Sculptures in the Dacca Museum by N.K. Bhattasali—p. 189.
2. Elements of Hindu Iconography by Gopi Nath Rao, Vol. I, Pt. II, p. 372.
3. Gopi Nath Rao, Vol. I, Part II, p. 369.
4. Base of Pratāpeśvar temple.
5. Gopi Nath Rao—Vol. I, Part II, p. 358.
6. Lt inner Pradak Lak T. Museum (putting one finger in mouth rest hands broken garland of skulls on head).
7. Medieval Indian Sculpture in the British Museum, p. 40.

the āyudhas broken, dagger, Pāśa, Khaḍga, Naramuṅda, hand placed below the shoulder, Sarpa and bowl with the same.

Gaṇeṣa

Gaṇeśa or Gaṇapati, was originally looked upon as leader of the hosts of Rudra[1] who is also called Vināyaka[2]. Later religious literature[3] further exalts the powers of the 'Gaṇeśvaras' and 'Vināyakas'. The Yajñavalkya Smṛiti[4] identifies Vināyaka with Gaṇesa. Thus, the worship of Gaṇesa, as a god in his own right, probably dates from the pre-Christian era though none of the Gupta inscriptions mentions it. Two Ellora caves[5], however, contain Gaṇeśa images which would go to show that the Gaṇeśa cult came into existence sometime between the 5th and 8th centuries[6]. Gaṇeśa now came to be identified with Gaṇapati, the Ṛg Vedic god of Wisdom. Later still, six different 'Gaṇapatīya' sects came into existence[7], and both the worship and the iconography of Gaṇeśa underwent the usual elaboration as in the case of the other gods.

The images of Gaṇeśa found at Khajurāho have two[8], four[9], six[10], eight[11], ten[12] and even sixteen hands[13]. They are shown in different poses such as sitting in Pàrvati's lap and learning from her[14], or eating laddoos from a bowl[15] or in a dancing pose[16] The other poses of the idols are the Abhaya, the Varadā and the Āliṅgana. The arrangement of the āyudhas is also different

1. Bhandarkar- Chap XIV, pp. 210-214.
2. Atharvaśiras Upanishada.
3. The Yājñavalkya Smriti—(1, 271 p.)
4. Cf. the Mahābhārata, the Mānava Grihyasūtra.
5. Bhandarkar- Chap. XIV, pp. 210-214.
6. Cf. also Ghatiyāla. inscription dated 862 A.D.
7. Cf. Ānandagiri's Śaṅkara-Digvijaya and Dhanapati's commentary on Mādhava also, S'ivapadasundaram—Appendix A, p. 183.
8. Small frieze Lt outside Bhch T and small frieze Lt Ardhamaṅdapa Javāri T, Nandi temple on all four sides—Museum, Base of Jag T.
9. Small T at the right back of Viś N T, small T left front of Lak T.
10 and 11. Museum.
12. Rt outside Viś NT.
13. Museum.
14 Base of Jag. T.
15. Small frieze Lt outside Bh. Ch T. and small frieze Lt Ardhamaṅḍapa Javāri T., Nandi Temple on all four sides—Museum, Base of Jag. T.
16. Small T. Lt front of Lak T and small T Rt back of Lak T.

from the traditional ones in most cases so that the identification of the idols with different aspects of Gaṇeśa becomes both interesting and more or less conjectural.

The brief descriptions of Gaṇeśa images that follow will make the above statements clearer.

In course of time Gaṇeśa images came to be formed with the same iconographic aptitude as the images of other gods. At Khajurāho Gaṇeśa images are two, four, six, eight, ten and sixteen-handed mostly in dance poses.

A two-handed image of baby Gaṇeśa[1] seated in the lap of Pārvatī has been found.

Other two-handed images of this god are depicted with a bowl of Laddoos[2] in one hand eating them with the other.

The four-handed images of Gaṇeśa are seated and standing both, having their hands in Abhaya or Varada mudrās carrying Paraśu,[3] Kuthāra and Bowl of Laddoos or Kamal[4], Mushṭikā and Paraśu. The former one may be identified with Haridra Gaṇapati[5] due to the bowl of Laddoos in hand. The image standing with Gadā[6], Paraśu, and Pustaka, the second hand being in a dance pose may be that of Dhvaja-Gaṇapati[7].

The only one six-handed image of Gaṇeśa carries Kamal[8], Paraśu, Sarpa, Sarpa, Mushṭikā and a bowl of Laddoos (Fig. 63). This may be that of Piṅgala Gaṇapati[9] in spite of slight variation from the text (only Paraśu and bowl of laddoos tallies with it.)

The eight handed Gaṇeśa holds Paraśu[10], Sarpa in two hands, Mushṭikā, Bowl and Dhvajā with the remaining two hands in

1. Sm. frieze Lt out Bhch T.
2. Sm. frieze Ardhamaṇḍap Javāri T, Nandi Temple—on all its four sides, Museum, Base of Jag. T.
3. Sm. T on Lt front of Viś. N., Rt out Viś. N. T. (Seated).
4. Sm. T on Lt back of Lak. T (Standing).
5. Gopi Nath Rao, Vol. I, Part I, p. 59.
6. Sm. T on Lt front of Lak. T.
7. Gopi Nath Rao—Vol. I, Part I, p. 59.
8. Museum.
9. Gopi Nath Rao—Vol. I, Part I, p. 56.
10. Sm. T. Rt. back Lak. T.

Abhaya and Varada poses. This may be either Bhuvanesa Gaṇeśa[1] or Nṛitta-Gaṇeśa[2] as the description does not tally wholly with either of the two. Another eight-handed image of Nṛitta Gaṇapāti[3] holds Mushṭikā[4], Danta, Kamal, Sarpa, and having two hands placed on Kaṭi or hanging at the side, the remaining two hands are broken.

The ten and sixteen-handed images of Gaṇeśa the latter of which is perhaps that of Vīravighneśa Gaṇapati[5] have also been found. The former carries Mushṭikā[6], Sarpa, Mushṭikā, two hands held in Tarjanī hasta pose and one in Abhaya mudrā all the rest being broken. The sixteen-handed[7] image has all its hands mutilated.

Two Gaṇeśa images have been found in Āliṅgana pose[8] in which the god is sitting with his consort Vighneśvarī on his laps. He carries a bowl of Laddoos[9], Danta in two hands. With one of the four he is eating Laddoos and the other is held in Āliṅgana mudrā. In the second image the god[10] is resting his trunk on his consort and fondly looking at her. This may be the image of Uchhishṭa Gaṇapati according to Uttarakāmikāgama [11]

Skanda or Kārttikeya

Skanda or Kārttikeya, son of Śiva and Pārvatī, and leader of Śiva's Gaṇas, was also widely worshipped from the Age of the Epics onwards[12]. The Lingāyatas even came to look upon him as another aspect of Śiva himself—Iconographic traditions require Kārttikeya images to have six faces, the peacock as a vāhana,

1. Gopi Nath Rao—Vol. I, Part I, p. 58.
2. Ibid., p. 59.
3. Ibid., p. 59.
4. Museum.
5. Gopi Nath Rao—Vol. I, Part I, p. 52.
6. Rt out Viś. N.T.
7. Museum.
8. Gopi Nath Rao—Vol. I, Part I, p. 59.
9. Museum.
10. Base of Pratāp, T.
11. Gopi Nath Rao—Vol. I, Part I, p. 59.
12. See the Rāmāyaṇa (Chap. I 37), the Mahābhārata (Vanaparva Chap. 229), Pātañjali's Mahābhāshya—the names—Skanda, Mahāseru, Kumāro and Bizago occur in Greek letters on Kanishka's coins. Cf. Bhandarkara, Chap. XV, pp. 214-215.

and the spear as his characteristic weapon[1]. In this case, again, the Khajurāho idols of this God differ from these conventions. They are mostly four-handed except one eight-handed image. In nearly all cases, at least one of the traditional āyudhas is different. The following details will make this clearer.

According to Mārkaṅdeya Purāna[2], Śakti is the characteristic weapon of Kārttikeya and Peacock his Vāhana[3]. His four and eight-handed (only one) images have been found at Khajurāho. In his four hands he has been given Varada or Abhaya poses with Śakti[4], Kamal and Kamaṅdalu or having Pustaka[5] instead of Kamal in the third hand where his first hand has a rosary beside being held in Abhaya mudrā. Pustaka[6] is not justified in the hands of this god by any text although the remaining āyudhas are justified.

The texts support six-faced[7] depiction of Kārttikeya but at Khajurāho a three-faced[8] image with Śeshanāga canopy and peacock Vāhana carrying Fruit, Śakti, Pustaka and Kamaṅdalu has been found who can be none other than Kārttikeya due to his Vāhana. His three-faced images with Fruit[9], Pāśa and Śakti[10] in first and fourth hands, Kamal in second and the third broken in both the cases, have also been found.

The six-faced and eight-handed Kārttikeya[11] standing on a pea-hen with hands broken has also been found[12] (Fig. 64).

Brahmā

Brahmā, according to Rūpamaṅdana[13], should have a Swan vehicle and carry Kamal, Sruvā, Kurchā and Kamaṅdalu in his hands. He can also have Rosary, Pāśa, Kurchā or Sruvā

1. Mārkaṅḍeya Purāṇa, referred to by Rao, Vol. 2, Pt. II, p. 445.
2. Gopi Nath Rao—Vol. II, Pt. II, p. 445.
3. Ibid., p. 424.
4. Lt out Kanḍ. T.
5. Lt out Kanḍ. T. Museum.
6. Gopi Nath Rao—Vol. II, Part II, p. 426.
7. Ibid., p. 424.
8. Museum.
9. Rt out Kanḍ. T.
10. Museum.
11. Museum.
12. His eight hands also cannot be justified by the texts.
13. Gopi Nath Rao—Vol. II, Part II, p. 503.

and Kamaṅdalu. The Khajurāho images of this god only have Sruvā and Pustaka—two of the above given āyudhas in their hands as the following description will show :—

First hand in Varada pose[1] having Sruvā, Pustaka and Kamaṅdalu ; Rosary[2] in fourth hand instead of Kamaṅdalu and having female attendants. The āyudhas[3] of upper two hands are interchanged. Varada pose has sometimes been changed into Abhaya[4] having Sruvā, Pustaka and Kamaṅdalu in the remaining three hands when his Vāhana too is depicted (Fig. 65). Once the god is shown feeding[5] his Vāhana Haṁsa with the first hand holding Sruvā, Kamal and Ghaṭa in the rest.

The three-faced images of Brahmā have also been found carrying Fruit[6], Sruvā, Pustaka and Kamaṅdalu in their hands having Haṁsa the vehicle at their side. A seated Trimūrti image[6a] of Brahmā in Padmāsana is shown in (Fig. 66).

Brahmā in Āliṅgana pose has also been depicted either standing or seated with his consort. The two-handed image in Āliṅgana pose has Sruvā[7] in one hand the other being in Āliṅgana pose. Brahmāṇī carries a Kamaṅdalu in her left hand.

The four-handed images of this god in Āliṅgana pose have first[7] or fourth[8] hand on Kaṭi (the latter in case of the consort to his right) with Sruvā and Pustaka in the upper two and the fourth or first in Āliṅgana pose.

The Trimukhī Brahmā images in Āliṅgana pose both stand-

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1. Rt out Vām. T., Sanctum gate Vām. T., Nandī T., Lt & Rt out Kanḍ. T., Rt inner pradak Kanḍ. T., Lt out Lak, Pārś N. & Rt out Ādi N.Ts., small temples on Rt back & Lt front of Lak T. (fourth hand is broken). Sanctum gates Viś N, Kanḍ. & Lak Ts. & Ch. bh T. (Seated images).
2. Lt out Viś N T.
3. Lt out Viś N T.
4. Sanctum gate Sm T on Lt front and Lt back of Lak T., Sanctum gate Javāri T and Dūlādeo T. Rt inner pradak Lak T., Rt out Viś NT (fourth hand broken) Lt out jag T (fourth hand broken).
5. Sm T, Lt front of Lak T.
6. Sm T, Lt front of Lak T., Lt out Viś N & Rt Maṇḍap Lak T (three hands mutilated in the last two).

6. a, Museum.

7. Rt out Vām T.
8. Rt Manḍap inside Kanḍ T., Lt out Pārś N T. Lt out Javārī (seated image with two hands broken).

ing and seated have also been found carrying Ghaṭa[1], Sruvā and Pustaka in first three hands fourth being in Āliṅgana pose.

A peculiar depiction of Brahmā at Khajurāho having first hand in Abhaya pose[2] with Sruvā, Pāśa, and Ghaṭa in the rest has also been found. Its identification is based on a six-handed image of the god described by Gopi Nath Rao[3].

THE EIGHT DIKPĀLAS

1. Indra

Indra is the lord of the East and according to Amśumadbhedāgama[4] he should have Śakti and Aṁkuśa as his characteristic weapons and Elephant for his Vāhana. His consort Indrāṇi[5] should have a flower in hand while two female attendants should stand—one on each side of them, carrying flywhisks or Chāmaras. According to Viṣṇudharmottara[5], his consort should also carry Aṁkusa or Vajra and be seated on his left leg.

A single two-handed image of Indra found at Khajurāho has its first hand in Abhaya pose[6] with Ghaṭa in the second. His vehicle is Elephant.

The four-handed images of Indra with first hand in Varada pose[7] carrying Vajra and Aṁkuśa in the other two, fourth broken (Fig. 67) or carrying Ghaṭa[8] with the Vāhana are also depicted.

The first hand in Abhaya pose[9] and the rest holding Aṁkuśa, Pāśa and Ghaṭa with the Elephant Vāhana or with first hand on Kaṭi[10] and Aṁkuśa in the third rest broken, have

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1. Back out Jag T. Inner pradak Back of Viś N T. (hands broken Vāhana depicted) Lt Maṇḍap Kanḍ T., Lt out Kanḍ T and Rt out Bh. ch T (Brahmāni has a Kamal nāla in her hand).
2. Rt out Jag. T.
3. Gopi Nath Rao—Vol. II, Part. II, p. 505.
4. Ibid., p. 519.
5. Ibid., p. 520
6. Sm T on rt front of Lak T.
7. Rt out Viś N T. Rt out Jag. T.
8. Rt out Kanḍ and Jag Ts.
9. Sm T on Lt front of Lak T. According to the "Jain Iconography" byB.C. Bhattacharya this image can also be identified with that of Mahāyaksha, pp. 90—119.
10. Rt inner pradak Viś N. T. or Lak T (fourth on Kaṭi and third with Amkuśa, two broken).

also been found in the depiction of Indra at Khajurāho. Two images with the first hand hanging[1] or in Varada[2] pose carrying Aṁkuśa, Sarpa and Ghaṭa or Kamal and Kamaṅdalu (second hand broken) respectively have been found.

In the Āliṅgana pose[3] the hands of this god are broken but his Vāhana is there for identification.

2. Nirritti

Nirritti is the god of the south west having Lion or a man Vāhana according to the Agamas[4]. Viṣṅudharmottara[5] gives him an Ass for Vāhana, and Dandā in hands. The god has side tusks and carries Khaḍga and Kheṭaka if two armed.

The two-handed image of Nirritti is seated on a man having Dandā[6] and flower respectively in his hands (Fig 68).

The four-handed image has an Ass Vāhana with Pustaka[7] and Kamal in the upper two hands with the fourth on the Kaṭi (first hand of the image is mutilated). Another image carries Sword[8] and Shield with the rest two hands broken.

3. Īsāna

The god of the North-East is known as Īśāna who may be playing upon his Vına[9] held in lower two hands having the upper two in Abhaya and Varada poses. His two-handed image according to the same authority carries Triśūla and Kapāla. At Khajurāho the god has been shown with second hand in Varada[10] or Abhaya[11] pose. His Vāhana is Bull.

The four-handed image of this god has Vınā[12] in its lower

1. Lt out Pārś N T.
2. Rt out Kand. T.
3. Lt inner pradak Viś N T.
4. Gopi Nath Rao—Vol. II, Pt. II, p. 528.
5. Ibid., p. 528.
6. Rt inner pradak Lak T. Museum (hands broken).
7. Sm T at back of Lak T.
8. Back out Javārı T.
9. Gopi Nath Rao—Vol. I, Part. II, p. 538.
10. Museum. Lt out Lak. T.
11. Sm T. Rt out Lak T.
12. Sm. T. Rt. back of Lak T. or Sm. T. on Lt. front of Lak T. (Bull is absent).

two arms, the right upper being in Abhaya mudrā and left upper holding Kamal.

4. Kubēra

Kubēra, the god of the North should have a Ram for his Vāhana according to Aṁśumadbhedāgama[1]. His two-handed image should have Varada and Abhaya mudrās or hold the Gadā according to the Āgamas[2]. His four-handed images can carry Gadā and Śakti in upper two hands with the lower two in Āliṅgana mudrā embracing his two consorts Vivhavā and Vṛidhī. Each of his consorts should have a Ratnapātra in her hands. The god should be depicted with moustaches and side tusks and be seated on the shoulders of a man. Rūpamaṅdana[3] gives him an Elephant Vāhana and Gadā, Purse, Fruit and Kamaṅdalu in his hands. At Khajurāho Kubēra has been depicted in sitting and standing postures mostly having two hands in the former case.

Peculiarly enough, the seated two-handed images of Kubera at Khajurāho have been given a Bowl in one hand with the other either holding a Staff,[4] Nakula[5], Abhaya pose[6] or being placed on the Knee[7].

The four-handed seated images have been depicted with Bowl[8], Kamal in upper two hands and a purse in the fourth, or with Bowl,[9] Pāśa and Purse in three hands, one (the third) of the four broken.

One standing two-handed image of Kubēra with the Ram Vāhana has Gadā[10] and Pustaka in its hands. Here instead of Varada or Abhaya mudrās he has been given Pūstaka one of the common articles.

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1. Gopi Nath Rao—Vol. II, Part II, p. 537.
2. Ibid., p. 536.
3. Ibid, p. 537.
4. Sm. T. Rt. back of Lak T.
5. Museum.
6. Outside Sm. T. of Lt. front Lak T.
7. Museum.
8. Back inner pradak Viś N.T.
9. Back out Vām T. and Museum.
10. Gandhi Smarak Chattarpur.

The four-handed standing image of Kubēra with the Elephant Vāhana can carry Gadā, Purse, Fruit and Kamaṅdalu in its hands according to Rūpamaṅdana[1]. But at Khajurāho the god holds the tusks of the elephant with his first and third hands, carries Gada[2] in the second and the fourth one is broken (Fig. 69).

Most of the Kubēra images at Khajurāho have been given a Nakula in one of the two or four hands. The Nakula has been assigned to him by Buddhist mythology. This is again due to the Buddhist influence in the region.

The two-handed images have been shown with Abhaya[3] mudrā and Nakula, Bowl[4] and Nakula or Nakula[5] and Ghaṭa.

In the four-handed images the god has been invariably given a Nakula in one of his hands. The arrangement of āyudhas being :—

Kaṭi pose[6], Kamal, Pustaka, Nakula.

Abhaya pose[7], Pustaka, Bowl, Nakula.

Varada pose[8], Nakula in upper two hands, Ghaṭa in fourth.

Kaṭi pose[9], Nakula in upper two hands, Kamal in fourth.

Ghaṭa[10], Kamal, Kamal and Nakula with a pot beside him.

Bowl[11], Kamal, Pustaka, Nakula.

Bowl[12], Kamal, Kamal, Nakula.

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1. Gopi Nath Rao—Vol. II, Part II, p. 537.
2. Rt. inner pradak Viś N.T., Museum.
3. Back inner pradak Viś N.T.
4. Rt. inner pradak Viś N.T., Museum.
5. Lt. out Dūlādeo T.
6. Museum. This image may be taken to be that of Garuda Yaksha according to "Jain Iconography" by B.C. Bhattacharya, pp. 90—119, though the Vāhana has not been depicted.
7. Sm. T. Rt. back Viś N.T.
8. Museum, Lt. out Kanḍ & Vām., Rt. out Chbh. T.
9. Lt. out Jag. T. See note 6 above.
10. Sm. T. Lt. front of Viś N.T.
11. Sm. T. Rt. back of Viś N.T.
12. Gandhi Smarak Chattarpur.

Kaṭi[1], Pāśa, Kamal, Nakulā.

Varada[2], Gadā, Kamalnāla, Nakula.

Kaṭi[2], Gadā, Kamal, Nakula.

Fruit[3], Kamal, Kamal, Nakula.

Fruit[4], hand broken, Pustaka, Nakula.

Some of the images have Nakula and the Ram Vāhana both, having Nakula[5], Pustaka, Kamal and Kaṭi-hasta ; Gadā[6], Nakula in upper two hands and Ghaṭa in the fourth ; Kaṭi-hasta[7], Pāśa, Pustaka and Nakula.

Two images of Kubera in Āliṅgana mudrā have also been found with Varada[8], Nakula, Kamal and Āliṅgana with Kamal in hand or Bowl[9], Pāśa, third hand broken and fourth in Āliṅgana.

5. Agni

The Lord of the South East has Ram as his pet animal with his chariot being driven by red horse according to Agni-purāṇa[10]. Fire, Triśūla, Kamaṇḍalu and Mālā are his āyudhas according to Viṣṇudharmottara[11]. According to a third[12] authority he should be represented like Brahma carrying Mālā and Śaktyāyudha. The god with Ram Vāhana and Nakula has been identified with Kubera hence without Purse or Nakula the god with Ram Vāhana can only be Agni even though his āyudhas are similar to those of Brahmā.

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1. Lt. out Jag. T.
2. Lt. out Jag. T. These images can also be identified with the Varuṇa Yaksha as given in the "Jain Iconography" by B.C. Bhattacharya, pp. 90 –119. But here instead of 8 only 4 arms of the god have been shown.
3. Sm. T. Lt. front of Lak T. Vide footnote, p. 113.
4. Lt. out Pārś N.T. Vide footnote, p. 113.
5. Sm. T. Lt. front of Lak T.
6. Lt. inner pradak Pārś N.T.
7. Lt. out Viś N.T.
8. Museum.
9. Inner pradak Kand T.
10. Gopi Nath Rao—Vol. II, Part II, p. 523.
11. Ibid., p. 524.
12. Ibid.

Images of Agni with Ram Vāhana have been depicted having the first hand in Varada pose or Varada with Rosary Sruvā[1], Pāśa, Kamaṅdalu (Fig. 70) ; Pāśa[2], Pustaka and Ghaṭa ; Sruvā[3], Pustaka and Ghaṭa in the remaining three hands.

Some of the images have their first hand in Ȧbhaya mudrā also carrying a rosary in a few cases. Here they carry Sruvā[4], Pustaka, Kamaṅdalu or hold, Triśūla[5] and Kamal with the fourth hand broken. Agni being a form of Śiva can carry his āyudhas too. In such cases he is distinguished with the help of his Vāhana.

With the first or fourth hand placed on the Kaṭi—Agni is shown with Pustaka[6], Sarpa and human skull or drinking vessel of human skull[7] and Pāśa.

Being a form of Śiva[8] Agni may have Bull for his Vāhana and being depicted like Brahmā he can have his first hand in Abhaya mudrā[9] with Ghaṭa in the second.

6. Varuṇa

Varuṇa is the God of the West. According to the Āgamas[10] he should be seated on Fish or Makara (Crocodile) with his first hand in Varada pose, holding Pāśa in the second. The four-armed image of Varuṇa, according to Viṣṇudharmottara[11] should have Padma, Pāśa, Śaṁkha and Ratnapātra.

The Makaravāhī god at Khajurāho is depicted with Pāśa,[12] Kamal, Pāśa and Kamaṅdalu ; Pāśa[13], Kamal and Ghaṭa with

1. Rt. out Kaṇd. T. Museum (two upper hands broken).
2. Rt. out Kaṇd. T.
3. Sm. T. back of Viś N.T. (fourth hand broken) Rt. out Pārś N.T.
4. Rt. out Viś N.T., Jag. T. & Bhch. T.
5. Sm. T. Lt. front of Viś N.T.
6. Lt. inner pradak Pārś N.T.
7. Rt. out Viś N., Lt. out Ādi. N. Ts. (Image has Whiskers).
8. Gopi Nath Rao—Vol. II, Part II, p. 522.
9. Rt. out Pārś N.T.
10. Gopi Nath Rao—Vol. II, Part II, p. 529.
11. Ibid., p. 530.
12. Sm. T., Rt. back of Viś. N.T.
13. Sm. T., Rt. front of Lak. T.

the first hand in Abhaya mudrā ; and first two hands in Kāṭi[1] and Varada poses having Pustaka and Rope Pāśa in the rest. Images of Varuna with one hand broken have their first hands in Varada or Abhaya mudras with Pāśa[2], Aṁkuśa ; Pāśa[3], Ghaṭa ; Pustaka[4] and Padma in the other two hands.

The following images do not depict the Vāhana of the god, and carry āyudhas in accordance with Viṣṇudharmottara.

The first image has first hand on Kaṭi[5] carrying Padma, Pāśa and Śaṁkha in the rest.

The second has its first hand in Varada[6] pose with Pāśa and Śaṁkha in the other two, the fourth one is having Ghaṭa, or is hanging at the side.

In Martin's book on Iconography of Southern India[7] Varuṇa is shown with Pāśa in his two hands. On the small temple at the back of the Viśvanāth temple too, an image of Varuṇa has been found with Pāśa, Kamal, Pāśa and Kamaṅdalu in his four hands and with his Vāhana Makara also depicted there. From this description of the images it is quite evident that Varuṇa can have Pāśa in two of his hands. Hence the following images whose Vāhana has not been depicted have been identified with Varuṇa as they carry Pāśa in their upper two hands. In the following images again we find a good illustration of the god carrying the seven common articles in turn (Varada, Abhaya, Kaṭi, Kamal, Pustaka, Ghaṭa and Fruit) besides the two characteristic weapons in his hands.

First of all those images which have the first hand (*i.e.*, Right lower) in Varada pose, thus making the āyudhas of the first three hands fixed (Varada, Pāśa and Pāśa) have been taken.

The fourth hand of some images carries Kamaṅdalu[8]

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1. Sm.T., Rt. back of Lak. T.
2. Sm. T. Lt front of Lak. T.
3. Lt out Kanḍ. T.
4. Sm T. Rt front Lak. T.
5. Lt out Jag. T.
6. Rt out Jag. T.
7. Fig. 33, facing p. 106 of Martin's book.
8. Lt and Rt outside Kanḍ. T, Museum, Lt and Rt out Jag. T.

(Fig. 71), Fruit[1] or is broken[2]. One image carrying Śaṁkha in the fourth hand has also been found and Śaṁkha is also a characteristic āyudha of Varuṇa according to Viṣṇudharmottara.

In one image[3], the first hand is in Abhaya mudrā and the upper two carry Pāśa as above, the fourth rests on Kaṭi[4] or is broken.

In another[5] the first hand rests on Kaṭi and the fourth has a Fruit[6] or a Kamaṅḍalu.

In other two images of this kind the order is reversed, *i.e.* the god has Flower[7], Rosary[8] or Sarpa[9] in the first hand and the fourth is resting on Kaṭi while the upper two hands carry Pāśa as usual. Sarpa can be justified in the hands of Varūṇa as Gopi Nath Rao has identified an image carrying Varada, Pāśa, Sarpa and Ghaṭa with Varuṇa.

In yet another image the god has Kamal[10] in the first hand and Kamaṅḍalu in the fourth one.

II (a). Other images of Varuṇa are depicted with Pāśa and Padma in the upper two hands while the remaining two carry two of the usual articles. They have been identified with Varuṇa because according to Viṣṇudharmottara this god can have Padma, Pāśa, Śaṁkha and Ratnapātra in his four hands. Hence the āyudhas of three hands are fixed, *i.e.*, Varada, Pāśa and Padma and in the fourth hand the image carries either a Ghaṭa[11] or is resting it on Kaṭi[12].

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1. Rt outside Jag. T.
2. Lt outside Jag. T and Kand. T.
3. Lt out Jag. T.
4. Lt out Bh. Chitragupta T.
5. Rt outside Jag. and Vāman Ts., Lt outside Kand. T.
6. Lt outside Viś. N.T.
7. Lt out Jag. T.
8. Rt out Kand. T.
9. Sm. T. on Lt outside Viś. N.T.
10. Rt out Vāman T.
11. Sm. T. on the Lt back of Lak. T., Rt out Jag. T.
12. Rt. out Jag & Kand Ts is Here the first hand also carries a rosary.

The first hand in some is in Abhaya pose while the second and third are as given above. The fourth hand of other images is resting either on Kaṭi[1] or is carrying a Ghaṭa[2]

With the first hand on Kaṭi and Pāśa and Padma in the upper two, Varuṇa carries a Flower[3], Fruit[4] and Kamaṇḍalu[5] or the fourth hand is in Abhaya[6] mudrā. Another image of Varuṇa has Pāśa[7], Kamal, Pustaka and Kaṭi pose in its hands. Here the arrangement is slightly varied.

II (b). In the following images though the āyudhas in the upper two hands are the same *i.e.*, Padma and Pāśa, yet they have been interchanged so as to add to the imagery. There being no change in the āyudhas the basis of identification is the same as in II (a).

Here the first hand is in Varada pose—the order being Varada, Padma and Pāśā in the first three hands; while the fourth one is resting on Kaṭi[8] or has a Ghaṭā[9].

The first hand, here, is in Abhaya mudrā and the fourth carries a Ghaṭa.[10]

The first hand is placed on Kaṭi and the fourth has a Ghaṭa[11] or a Śaṁkha.[12]

This particular image carries a Ghaṭa[13] in the first hand and the fourth rests on Kaṭi—again the āyudhas of first and fourth hands have been interchanged[14].

The images which carry Kamal, Pustaka and Ghaṭa in second, third and fourth hands having the first in[15] Varadā

1. Lt out Pārś N.T. and Jag. T.
2. Lt out Jag. T.
3. Lt and Rt out Jag. T.
4. Rt out Jag. T.
5. Lt out Jag. T. and Rt of Maṇḍap Vāman T.
6. Lt out Jag. T.
7. Back inner pradak Lak. T.
8. Lt out Rt out Jag. T.
9. Lt and Rt out Kanḍ. T. and Jag. T.
10. Lt and Rt out Jag. T.
11. Lt out Kanḍ. T. and Javarī T.
12. Lt out Jag. T.
13. Lt out Jag.,& Bh. Chitrā & Rt outside Viś N. T.
14. Lt out Jag. T.
15. Lt and Rt out Kand. T., Rt out Vāman T., Sm. T on Rt back of Lak. T., Rt front of Lak T. (the fourth hand is in Aliṅgana)

or Abhaya[1] may be identified with Vāruṇa as Makaravāhī image of this god with Abhaya mudrā, Pustaka and Kamal in the first three hands and the fourth one broken has been found. They could also have been categorised along with Brahmā but that god has never been depicted at Khajurāho without Sruvā—his characteristic āyudha.

7. **Yama**

Yama is the god of the South whose Vāhana according to Sanskrit authorities[2] is Buffalo and who has female attendants with fly whisks, on each of his sides. According to Gopi Nath Rao[3] Yama can also have Bull for his Vāhanā and carry Pāśa and Gadā in his two hands.

At Khajurāho, Yama images have been depicted having four hands carrying Gadā[4], Pāśa and Ghaṭa with the first in Varada mudrā.

The Āliṅgana mūrtis of this god have Fruit[5], Pāśa and Gadā in first three hands with the fourth in Āliṅgana pose or Pāśa[6] in the second hand, third in Āliṅgana pose, fourth hanging down and first being broken.

On the outer wall of the small temple at Right back of Viśvanāth Temple an image carrying Bird[7], Gādā, Pāśa and Staff and with Bull for its Vāhana has been depicted. It has a terrific appearance. According to Gopinath Rao[8] a two-handed image of Yama can have Pāśa and Gadā. If it is four-handed it can also carry Staff and Spear, and the later being the characteristic weapon of Kārttikēya his another characteristic feature i.e., a bird sitting on the hand, has been added by Khajurāho sculptors. Yama can also have bull as his Vāhana as shown in Chidambaram Śiva. Temple[9].

1. Lt & Rt out Jag. T., inner Pradak. Kand T.
2. Gopi Nath Rao—Vol. II, Pt. II, p. 526.
3. Gopi Nath Rao—Vol. II, Pt. II, p. 527.
4. Rt out Jag. T.
5. Lt out Pārs' N T.
6. Lt our Pārs' N T. (Fourth hand broken).
7. Sm. T. on rt back of Viś N T.
8. and 9. Gopi Nath Rao—Vol. II, Pt. II, p. 527.

8. Vāyu

The god of North-west in his two-handed depiction carries Dhvajā and Dandā[1]. According to Viṣṇudharmottara[2] Aṁkuśa, Chakra or Aṁkuśa-Dhvajā with his Deer Vāhana may be given to him.

At Khajurāho four-armed images of Vāyu have been depicted with Deer Vāhāna carrying Aṁkuśa[3], Kāmal, Dhvajā or Aṁkuśa[4], Pustaka and Kamaṅdalu having first hand in Varada mudrā

The image with[5] Varada mudrā, Staff, Pustaka and Ghaṭa in his four hands may be identified with Vāyu because another image with Deer Vāhana having Varāda, Aṁkuśa, Pustaka and Ghaṭa has been depicted on the outer wall at the back of Pārś Nath Temple as well as Sm. Temple on left front of Lakśman Temple. Here Staff—one of the characteristic weapons of Vāyu[6] has been substituted for Aṁkūśa – another characteristic weapon of the same god.

Other depictions of Vàyu with the Vāhana have Kamal[7], Pàśa and Aṁkuśa in the first three hands with the àyudha of the fourth being vaguely depicted ; or Dandā[8], Pustaka, Pāśa and fourth hand on Kaṭi.

The following images of Vāyu have two characteristic weapons in their hands but their Vāhana is absent.

The first has Aṁkuśa[9], Chakra and Kamal in first three hands fourth being on Kaṭi ; second having first hand in Varada mudrā[10] rest holding Aṁkuśa, Dandā and Kamaṅdalu, and the third has first hand on Kaṭi[11] rest holding the āyudhas of the second image numbered[10].

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1. Gopi Nath Rao—Vol. II, Pt. II, p. 532.
2. Gopi Nath Rao—Vol. II, Pt. II, p. 533.
3. Lt. out Kāṇḍ. T.
4. Back out Parś N. T., Sm. T. on Lt. front of Lak. T. (last hand broken).
5. Lt out Jag. T. This image could also be identified with Brihaspati the Jain Yaksha according to Jain Iconography by B.C. Bhattacharya pp.157-162 but his Vāhana Swan is not depicted.
6. Gopi Nath Rao—Vol. II, Pt. II, p. 532.
7. Sm. T. on back of Viś.N. T.
8. Lt inner pradak. Viś. N. T.
9. Lt. out Kāṇḍ. T,
10. Rt out Vām. T.
11. Rt inner Pradak. Kaṇḍ. T.

Another image of Vāyu with Varada[1], Dhvajā, Pustaka and Dhvajā has also been found and Dhvajā[2] in the hands of this god is in accordance with Viṣṇudharmottara quoted by Gopi Nath Rao.

NAVAGAṆAS

According to Rūpamaṅdana[3] there are Nine Gṛhas all of them should be depicted wearing Kirīṭa Mukutas and Kuṅdalas. Sūrya should carry Lotus in both hands, Sōma should have Kumuda in both, Bhauma should have Staff and Kamaṅdalu, Budha should have hands in Yoga-mudrā, Guru should have Akshamālā and Kamaṅdalu as well as Śukra, Śani should have Staff and Kamaṅdalu, Rāhu's face is kept on the Havana Kuṅḍa the rest of the body being invisible while Kētu has his hands folded in Aṅjali pose with a serpentine body and serpent hood over head (Fig. 72.)

At Khajurāho[4] Sōma has been depicted with Kumuda in right hand and Kamaṅdalu in,left while the rest is in complete accordance with the above given text.

(i) Mangala or Bhauma

This god is one of the Navagrahas having Daṅdā and Kamaṅdalu as his characteristic weapon according to Rūpamaṅdana[5] and Goat for his Vāhana. At Khajurāho only three images with goat vāhana have been found having most peculiar āyudhas in their hands. According to Gopi Nath Rao the four-handed images of this god should have Śakti, Gadā, and Triśula with first hand in Varada pose.

One has Abhaya pose with Rosary[6], Club, Pustaka and Kamaṅdalu. Another has Ghanṭi[7], Pustaka and Kaṭi pose with the third hand broken. The third has first hand in Varada pose[8]

1. Lt inner Pradak. Kand. T.
2. Gopi Nath Rao—Vol. II, Part II, p. 532.
3. Elements of Hindu Iconography by Gopi Nath Rao, Vol. I, Part II, pp. 322-323.
4. Small T. on Lt front of Lak. T.
5. Gopi Nath Rao Vol. I, Part II, pp. 322-23.
6. Lt inner pradak Pārś N T.
7, 8. Sm. T on rt back of Lak T.

holding fruit in the fourth, second and third being broken. Thus we see that these images of Bhauma do not tally in details with those given in the texts.

Nāgadeva

According to Śilparatna[1] the Nāgadevas should be depicted as half-human and half-serpentine and they should carry Sword and Shield.

The image[2] as depicted at Khajurāho has its hands broken while the body is half-human and half-serpentine (Fig. 73) in accordance with the text.

Sādhyas

According to Agnipurāṇa[3] Sādhyas should be twelve in all carrying Mālā and Kamaṇḍalu and should be seated in Padmāsana.

In the small railing outside many of the temples[4] (Kanḍariā, Lakshman and Viśvanāth temples) mostly Sādhyas have been depicted seated in padmāsana and carrying the above given articles with one attendant on each side sitting or standing.

Piśāchā

According to Gopi Nath Rao[5] Piśāchas are composed of bones, lendons and skin only. Their hair should be stiff and spreading out.

Two such statues[6] one male and the other female with legs and hands broken were found in the Museum (Fig. 74).

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1. Elements of Hindu Iconography by Gopi Nath Rao, Vol 2, Pt. I, p. 556.

Note : Some male and female images standing by the side of the Gods are shown having Serpent hood and their two hands in Anjali pose or carrying garland etc. may be also taken to be Nāga and Nāgi. The āyudhas shown in their hands are not in accordance with the above text.

2. Museum.

3. Elements of Hindu Iconography by Gopi Nath Rao, 1914-1916, Vol. II, Part II, pp. 558-559.

4. Found in abundance on the third small railing outside Kanḍ. Lak. Viś. etc.

5. Elements of Hindu Iconography by Gopi Nath Rao, 1914-1916, Vol. II, Part II, p. 562.

6. Jardine Museum.

Pitra

According to the Agamas the Pitras[1] are three in number and are depicted as oldmen seated together. They should carry a stick and an umbrella. But at Khajurāho, Pitras carry a bowl with the Śūchihasta pose, the former of which according to Viṣṇudharmottara[2] they carry to receive balls of rice.

Such images have been found in the third small frieze on the outer walls of many of the temples.[3] (Fig. 75).

Vidyādharas

Flying Vidyādharas[4] are mostly depicted on tops of pillars supporting the roofs or on the topmost friezes outside the temples. They are flying with their consorts[5] (Fig. 76), playing[6] on musical instruments like flute, drum[7], bugles[8] etc. or are in dance[9] poses with[10] garlands in hands. Sometimes they have also been depicted doing exercises by lifting heavy Mugdara[11] or weight etc. with their hands.

Apsarās

According to Gopi Nath Rao[12] the Apsarās are seven in number all having slender waists, large gluteals and well developed busts. They should stand on Bhadrapīṭhas.

All over the outer and inner walls of the Khajurāho temples[13] such images have been depicted standing beside the various gods' images. The Apsarās have been depicted in various moods and poses pertaining to every walk of life which indirectly reflects upon the social conditions and environments of the period (Fig. 77a & 77b).

1. Elements of Hindu Iconography by Gopi Nath Rao, 1914-1916, Vol. II, Part II, p. 563.
2. Ibid., Vol. II, Part II, p. 564.
3. Lak., Kanḍ., Viś., Bh. Ch.
4. They are known as Demi Gods and are depicted in the flying postures.
5. Museum, Pārś. N.T.
6. Chaturbhuja.
7. Dūlādeo.
8. Chaturbhuja.
9. Dūlādeo, Pārś. N., Chaturbhuja.
10. Dūlādeo.
11. Dūlādeo.
12. Elements of Hindu Iconography by Gopi Nath Rao, 1914-1916, Vol. II, Part II, pp. 561-562.
13. Kanḍariā, Vis'. N. T., Lak. T., Pāraśv. N. etc.

MISCELLANEOUS GODS

The Khajurāho sculptures include many gods' images whose Vāhanas are missing and who carry āyudhas which do not appertain to any particular god according to the texts. Hence their identification has been based on the Khajurāho iconography itself i.e. the gods images with Vāhanas carrying the similar combination of āyudhas as those of the gods dealt with in this chapter, without Vāhana have been identified with each other. Icons with still more peculiar combination of āyudhas have been identified with the help of the texts although their identification remains ambiguous.

(*i*) Vāyu and Varuṇa

The image with the first hand on Kaṭi[1]*, and the rest holding Sarpa, Pās'a and Aṁkus'a may be the combined representation of Vāyu and Varuṇa. According to Gopi Nath Rao[2] the image with Vārada, Pās'a, Sarpa and Ghaṭa is that of Varuṇa, and according to Viṣṇudharmottara, as quoted by the same author, Aṁkus'a is one of the characteristic āyudhas of Vāyu. Indra can also carry Aṁkus'a in one of his hands (according to Amśumadbhedāgama) but Aṁkus'a alongwith Pāśa has been depicted in the hands of Vāyu alone at Khajurāho (see notes on Vāyu).

Brahmā

The image having the first hand in Abhaya[3] mudrā, Sruvā, Pās'a and Ghaṭa in the rest may be identified with Brahmā whose characteristic attribute is Sruvā. In this solitary image Pās'a has also been given in his hands which can be justified as the image found in the Madras museum with rosary, sruk, pāśa kamaṅdalu has been identified by Gopi Nath Rao[4] with Brahmā.

(*ii*) Brhaspati and S'ukra

The image having Pustaka[5] in upper two hands the first

1. Rt out Kand. T. *On the basis of ayudhas this image can be identified with Gandharva Yaksha according to Jain Iconography by B.C. Bhattacharya, pp 90-119. But his Vāhana Haṅsa or a bird is not depicted.
2. Elements of Hindu Iconography by Gopi Nath Rao, 1914-1916, Vol. II, Part II, p. 530.
3. Rt out Jag. T.
4. Elements of Hindu Iconography by Gopi Nath Rao, 1914-1916, Vol. II, Part II, p. 510.
5. Lt out Lak. T.

in Varada mudrā and the fourth carrying Kamaṅdalu may be identified with the combined representation of Bṛhaspati and S'ukra. According to Viṣṇudharmottāra, the two armed images of these gods[1] can have Pustaka and Akshamālā and Treasure and Pustaka respectively while Rūpamaṅdana[2] assigns to them Kamaṅdalu too. Thus Pustaka, Pustaka and Kamaṅdalu can be justified in combined form of these.

(*iii*) **Rāhu Kētu**

The image having first hand in Abhaya[3]* mudrā, Gadā Pustaka and Kaṭi hasta pose in the rest may be that of Rāhu and Kētu combined together. According to the Viṣṇudharmottara[4], a two-handed image of the former carries Pustaka in one of the two hands (second having Kaṁbala or nothing) and that of the latter carries[5] Gādā in the second, the first being in Abhayā mudrā. Hence combination of Abhaya, Gadā and Pustaka and Kāṭi pose can be justified in the image of Rāhu and Kētu.

(*iv*) **Yama Vāyu**

The image depicted on the Ādiṅath Temple having Sword[6] Paśa, Kamal in the first three hands, the fourth being broken and also having Deer for his Vāhana may be identified with Vāyu on the basis[7] of the Vāhana. The āyudhas in the hands of the god are the attributive weapons of Yama[8] and not Vāyu and it is quite probable that this difference in āyudhas may be due to the adoption of the god by the Jains.

(*v*) **Varuṇa Vāyu**

According to the Visṇudharmottara[9], Varuṇā can have Pāśa and Śaṁkha as his characteristic weapons and the same

1. Elements of Hindu Iconography by Gopi Nath Rao, 1914-1916, Vol. I, Part II. p. 320.
2. Ibid, Vol. I, Part II, pp. 322-323.
3. Museum. *According to "Jain Iconography" by B.C. Bhattacharya this image may be identified with Buddha on the basis of āyudhas. But his Vāhana has not been shown. pp. 157-162.
4. Gopi Nath Rao, Vol. I, Part II, p. 321. 5. *Ibid*, p. 322.
6. Lt out Ādi. N. T. According to the Jain Iconography by B.C. Bhattacharya this image, on the basis of āyudhas, may be indentified with Kubera but his Vāhana should have been Elephant in this case. 8-90-119.
7. Elements of Hindu Iconography by Gopi Nath Rao, 1914-1916, Vol. II, Part II, pp. 532-533.
8. Ibid, pp. 526. 9. Ibiḍ, p. 530.

authority assigns Dhvajā[1] in the hands of Vāyu. Hence the image with Varada pose[2], Pāśa, Śaṁkha and holding cloth with the fourth (which in sculpture stands for Dhvajā) may be taken to be a combined representation of the above two gods—Varuṇa and Vāyu, or any one of them individually.

Viṣṇu

The Khajurāho sculptors have peculiarly enough depicted a god, who may be Viṣṇu due to the Kite[3] Vāhana[4], having the first hand[5] on Kaṭi and holding a ring too, with Kamal and Pustaka in the other two hands the fourth being broken (Fig 78).

No god except one (given above) has been depicted at Khajurāho with the Ring in the first hand Hence the image with Ring[6], Pāśā and Kāmāl in its first three hands, the fourth broken may be identified with Viṣṇu. Pāśa in the hands of this god may be justified according to Khajurāho iconography where a Garuḍa-vāhi image of the god has[7] Varada mudrā, Pāśa, Pustaka and Ghaṭa in its four hands.

(*vi*) **Sūrya Viṣṇu**

The image here has Chākra[8], Padma, Padma and Śaṁkha in its four hands. Due to the repetition of Padma the image may be identified with Sūrya[9], *Govinda and Narasiṁha*[10]. It can be also taken to be a combined representation of Sūrya and any of the above given forms of Viṣṇu.

(*vii*) **Sūrya Śiva**

In this combined depiction a god with Bull Vāhana has been given Varada[11] or Kaṭi[12] pose in the first hand, Kamal in upper two

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1. Elements of Hindu Iconography by Gopi Nath Rao, 1914-16, Vol. II, Part II, pp. 532-33.
2. Rt. out Jag. T.
3. If the Vāhana is taken to be bramisa (*i.e.* Haṁsa) and the ring for rosary, the image may be identified with Brahma as well.
4. Elements of Hindu Iconography by Gopi Nath Rao, Vol. I, Part I, p. 266.
5. Lt. out Kanḍ T.
6. Rt out Jag. T.
7. See Chapter on Viṣṇu.
8. Lt out Vām. T.
9. According to Rūpamaṅdana—Gopi Nath Rao, Ibid, Vol. I, Part II, p. 322-23.
10. According to Rūpamaṅdana—as quoted by Gopi Nath Rao in Elements of Hindu Iconography, Vol. I, Part II, p. 229.
11. Rt out Kanḍ, Bhch. & Lt out Jag. T.
12. Rt out Kanḍ, T.

hands and Kāmaṇḍalu in the fourth. Thus it seems that Sūrya (according to āyudhas) has been combined *with Śiva (according to Vāhana)*. A six handed depiction shows Varada[1] with rosary, Triśūla, Kamal, Kamal, Sarpa and Ghaṭa in its hands[2]. Seven horses are carved on its pedestal with Āruni the Charioteers also.

(*viii*) Sūrya, Viṣṇu Śiva and (*ix*) Sūrya, Viṣṇu, Śiva, Brahmā

Combination of three together *i.e.* Sūrya, Viṣṇu and Śiva depicts the eight handed god seated with or without boots having first hand in Varada mudra along with the rosary, carrying Kamal[3] Kamal, Sarpa, Kamaṇḍalu and Śamkha in the rest with the second hand broken (Fig. 79). In another case the eighth hand is broken, first as above (without rosary) and rest are having Rosary[4], Chakra, Triśūla, Sarpa, Śaṁkha and Kamaṇḍalu Here besides the above three Brahmā also comes in.

(*x*) Bhauma or Sani

A two-handed god carrying[5] Ghaṭa and Staff with his consort having a Kamalnāla in her left hand, may be identified with Śani or Bhauma as both Gods can have Staff and Ghaṭa as their characteristic weapons according to Rūpamaṇḍana.

Another two-handed image of a god with his first hand on Kaṭi[6] and second in Āliṅgana pose has been depicted with his consort who carries a Pāśa. Because the consort has a Pāśa the characteristic ayudha of Varuṇa[7], the image may be identified with that of Varuṇa although no text can be quoted in support of this.

The following icons will make it clear that Khajurāho iconographists took great liberties in assigning peculiar āyudhas

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1. Lt out Dūlādeo T.
2. Stella Kramrisch has taken the image in the Dūlādeo Temple to be that of a combined representation of Brahma, Viṣṇu, Siva and Sūrya. But Ghaṭa and Varada with rosary Sūrya can also have. Moreover the image is six-handed. Hence it is Siva & Sūrya only.
3. Sm. T. rt front of Lak. T. backout Bh. ch. T.
4. Base Pratāp T.
5. Rt out Pārś. N.T.
6. Lt out Pārś. N. and Museum.
7. Gopi Nath Rao Vol. II, Part II, p. 529.

to every god. Images with Varada, Pāśa, Pustaka and Ghaṭa have been depicted with Gāruḍa[1], Bull[2], and Magara[3] Vāhanas thus giving the same āyudhas in the hands of Viṣṇu, Śiva and Varuṇa respectively. Hence in case the Vāhana is absent images with Varada or Kaṭi pose[4], Pāśa, Pustaka and Ghaṭa may be identified with either of the above three. Sometimes in the fourth hand Kamal[5] has been given instead of Ghaṭa.

Miscellaneous gods having two hands only :

One image has the first hand in Varada[6], Abhaya[7] or Kaṭi[8] poses, and the second one having Kamaṅḍalu and thus it may be identified either with Guru or Śukra according to Rūpamaṅdana[9] even though the rosary is not given in the first hand.

JAIN ICONS

Although the larger number of temples found at Khajurāho are dedicated to Brahmanical deities, yet the small group of temples dedicated to Jain Tīrthaṁkaras proves that this religion also prevailed in that area.

The main object of worship for the Jains were their twenty-four Tīrthaṁkaras[10]. It is just possible that all of them were being worshipped but the existing images are only of seven of them. Some are installed in the temples while others are lying in the Museum now.

Ādinatha[11] or Rshabhanāth, the first Tīrthaṁkara of the Jains with his Bull symbol on the pedestal and Srivatsa mark on the chest is installed in the shrine near Pisnāri Kī Maḍaiyā at Khajurāho.

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1. Inside Maṅḍap Kanḍ. T.
2. Lt and Rt out Kanḍ. T.
3. Sm. T on Lt back of Lak. T.
4. Lt out Viś. N.T., Rt out Viś. N.T.
5. Lt out Viś. N.T.
6. Lt out Lak T, Sm. T. Lt back of Lak T.
7. Sm. T. Lt back of Lak. T.
8. Museum.
9. Gopi Nath Rao, Vol. I, Part II, pp. 322-323.
10. Identification of these Tirthaṁkaras has been made on the basis o "Jain Iconography" by B.C. Bhattacharya, pp. 36-90.
11. Temple beside Pisnāri Kī Maḍaiyā and G.S. Chattarpur.

Śri Ajitanāth[1] standing under a canopy with two elephants for his symbol standing at the two sides of the canopy and with the Srīvatsa mark has also been found. The image of Sambhavanāth[2] with horse symbol and Srīvatsa mark carved in black stone, that of Abhinandananāth[3] with monkey symbol also in black stone, Padmaprabha[4] with Lotus symbol, Śānti-Nāth[5] with deer and Mahāvīra[6] with his Lion have also been found (Fig. 80).

Besides the Tīrthaṁkaras Yaksha and Yakshiṇis with a few minor gods and goddesses were also worshipped.

Yaksha[7] figures are found on the capitals of the Maṇḍap pillars as if supporting the roofs and the Yakshiṇīs[7] are fixed all round in the sockets of the pillars. An image[8] carrying Gada and Chakra in his two hands may be identified with the Vijaya Yaksha, though his Vāhana, Haṁsa is not depicted.

Besides these the prominent preceptors of the religion and Ambikā also formed objects of worship.

The image of Bāhubalī Swami[9] with creepers growing all over his body is depicted in the Pārśvanāth temple.

Ambikā[10] has been depicted with a baby in one arm and a bunch of mangoes in the other[11] (in case of two handed image) or she is carrying Pāśa and Pustaka[12] in her upper two hands the lower being same as above (in case of four-handed images).

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1. Lt out Pārś. N.T., Museum.
2. Temple beside Pisnārī Ki Maḍaiyā.
3. Temple beside Pisnārī Kī Maḍaiyā.
4. Museum.
5. Huge image. Sānti N.T. (sanctum).
6. Rt corner shrine Sānti T. Museum.
7. Pillar capitals Pārś. N.T.
8. Museum. (According to "Jain Iconography" by. B.C. Bhattacharya p. 90-119).
9. Rt inner pradak. Pārś. N.T.
10. R.C. Majumdar, Chapter XI, p. 298. Also "Jain Iconography" by B.C. Bhattacharya, pp. 120-147. But in this image the goddess has been given Pustaka in place of Aṁkuśa and her Lion Vāhana is not depicted.
11. Rt corner Shrine Sānti N.T.
12. Lt out Ādi. N.T.

Jain goddess

In the Museum lies a mutilated image of a Jain goddess[1] with first three hands broken carrying Pāśa in the fourth (Fig. 81). On the pedestal is carved her horse symbol.

An eight-handed image[2] of a single faced goddess with a Bird Vahana has also been found who may be taken to be a Jain goddess.

An eight-handed image of a Lion Vāhinī goddess carrying Mushṭikā[3], Khañjara (horn shaped), Bow, Gadā, and Ghaṭa in her third, fourth, sixth, seventh and eighth hands respectively with the first in Abhaya mudrā and all the remaining broken may be that of an armed Jain goddess.

Dikpālas

Agni[4] carrying bow and arrow according to Svetāmbarā texts (Vāhana not shown), has been also depicted.

Some of the temples also depict a naked Jain image[5] seated with two male attendants standing to the right and left sides whose identifications cannot be made in the absence of their āyudhas and vāhanas.

A number of Brahmanical gods and goddesses the most prominent being Śiva, who greatly resembles Iśvara[6] of the Jain pantheon, were also adopted by the Jains whose description has been included in that of the Brahmanical deities.

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1. Museum.
   She may be identified with Kandarpā or Mānasī on the basis of the Vāhana and taking Pāśa to be Kamal according to "Jain Iconography" by B.C. Bhattacharya, pp. 120-147.
2. Lt out Ādi N.T. (She may be the mother or consort of Sumati Nath who has "Chakvā" or "Krauncha" symbol).
   She may be Bhṛkuṭi or Jvālāmālinī who has eight arms and Swan vehicle. Or may be Duritāri or Prajāpati, Ibid pp. 120-147.
3. Rt and Lt out Ādi. N.T.
   She may be Kandarpā or Mānasī according to the "Jain Iconography" on the basis of her Vāhana and Bow and Arrow in her hands.—Ibid pp.120-147.
4. Lt out Pārś N.T. According to "Jain Iconography" by B.C. Bhattacharya pp. 147-157.
5. Sm. frieze rt out Viś. N.T., Jag. T. and rt inside of Sānti N.T
6. R.C. Majumdar, Chap. XI, p. 298.

God with Consort

The Gomedha couple[1] shown seated under a tree holding Fruit in one hand and a baby in the other also formed an item of worship (Fig 82).

BUDDHIST ICONS

Only one image of the Buddha[2] seated in Bhūmisparsha mudrā with left hand in Abhaya pose has been found at Khajurāho but it is enough to prove the presence of Buddhism in that region.

As an incarnation of Viṣṇu also Buddha[3] has been depicted twice.

1. Rt. Corner Sānti N. T. Museum.
2. Museum.
3. Museum Sanctum image's Prabhāvalī Vam. T.

CHAPTER V

SOCIAL LIFE

"Social" history has been defined by Prof. Trevelyan[1], as "the history of the people of a country with the politics left out". It embraces the whole field of the work-a-day life of the people, their ordinary pursuits and activities, the varied panorama of social relations, family and household life and conditions of labour and leisure. The study of social history makes the past a more vivid reality to us than a mere perusal of musty old records can ever accomplish. As we inspect the sculptured figures and scenes on palaces and temples, the life of our forbearers takes form and colour, and passion and movement. Their customs and conventions, their pursuits and pleasures pass before us in concrete form conferring upon us a great understanding of the past than is otherwise possible. An attempt has been made in this book to interpret the social life of the people in the Khajurāho region during the 10th-11th century as depicted in the monuments there.

The basis of social life in Ancient India was Varṇāśramadharma which rested mainly on a division of labour for the proper functioning of the machinery of society in peace and war alike. It may be assumed that the system persisted even in the 10th and 11th centuries because men are shown following different occupations falling under the four primary social divisions of Brāhmaṇa, Kashattriya, Vaiśya and Śudra[2].

The span of a man's life was further subdivided into four Āśramas, namely Brahmacharya, Gṛhastha, Vānaprastha and Sanyāsāśrama. A Hindu studied the various Vidyās or branches of knowledge at the Barahmacharya stage, led the life of an active citizen as a Gṛhasthin or house-holder, practised asceti-

1. Social History of England by G.M. Trevelyan 1946—Introduction page VII.

2. For greater details see Chapter on Economic Life of this book.

cism in his old age as a Vanaprasthin and rounded off his life in the last stage by practising Yoga and other austerities as a Sanyasī, thus completing the allotted span of his existence.

The "apparel oft proclaimeth the man". It plays an important part in making others distinguish as to the social class the man belongs to and as to the occupation he follows. Whether, he is Brahmcharī, Gṛhasthin or Sanyāsī, rich or poor, a hunter soldier or king can often be distinguished from his dress. Similarly the ornaments, headdress, hair styles and toiletry also help in distinguishing the social class to which the individual belongs. Hence separate chapters have been devoted to each of these distinctive features of social behaviour and custom in this book.

The recreations and different occupational activities of men and women sculptured in various scenes at Khajurāho throw much light on the tastes and the cultural development of the society at that time. These scenes reflect the position of women in society, their freedom of movement and action, the absence of the purdāh system and their varied occupations. All these point to the high status they enjoyed in society during the tenth and eleventh centuries. The present chapter has been devoted to a broad survey of the people-life in each of the four main stages or āśramas.

(A) BRAHMACHARYĀŚRAMA

School Scenes—The Khajurāho sculptures provide three striking illustrations of school scenes. They show that there used to be two kinds of schools—one meant for small children like modern primary schools, and the other—educational institutions of a higher grade. Primary education seems to have been quite popular as the number of children in the former is seven times that of the latter.

In the first scene (Fig. 83) a Gūrū[1] or a Teacher is seen seated on the floor with something like a pencil in his right hand and holding a big board with the left hand. A small boy standing behind the board is also supporting it and is peeping from

1. Sm. T. on Rt. front of Lak. T.

behind it to see what the Gurū is writing. A small boy is pressing the feet of the teacher and another, standing behind the teacher, has kept his hand on the former's shoulder. Two boys sitting behind the teacher seem to be gossipping and one standing in front of him seems to be curious to see what the boys behind are doing In all there are eight big, four small and two very small boys, scattered in disorder around the teacher—peeping to see what he has written on the board.

Again in the Pārśva Nath Temple[1] the teacher is shown sitting and writing on a board which is held in front by a small boy.

In another scene[2] the teacher is seated on a cushion. Two grown up men (Śishyas) are also sitting on cushions—one in front and another at the back. The one sitting in front is writing something on a scroll of paper or Bhoja-patra with something like a pencil. The teacher with uplifted right hand seems to be explaining something to him. The one sitting at the back is also holding a pen in the right hand and an ink-pot in the left. Two persons who seem to be attendants are standing behind the disciples. It seems to be a school for adults.

The first Pāthśālā scene shows the relation between the teacher and the taught. The teacher, though held in high esteem by his students, who were ever ready to serve him and even to press his feet, was also their friend and confidant, as is perhaps clear from the fact that one of the students in the scene has kept his hand on one of the shoulders of his teacher. The scene is homely and indicates that there was perhaps no such segregation of the pupils into different "classes" or "standards" as we have in use at the present time. Of course the scene referred to depicts almost certainly a "primary" "one teacher school" or what were known as "Tolls" in 18th century India.

A number of scenes, depicting Ṛshīs giving discourses and men reading out something to women, have also been sculptured but they have been dealt with in chapters dealing with the occupations of ascetic and engagements of women respectively.

1. Rt. out top most frieze Pārs'. N. T.
2. Sm. T. on Rt. front of Lak. T.

(B) THE GṚHASTHA LIFE

The most outstanding feature of Gṛhasthāsrama is Varṇa-vyavasthā or caste system. The various castes can only be indicated in sculptures through distinct styles of dresses and different occupations. There was no distinction in the style of wearing the Dhotī (which alone formed the common dress of men) amongst the primary castes, consequently it is very difficult to say anything about the condition of the caste system in the 10th and 11th century India merely from the depiction of dresses in the sculptures. Dresses of men following various occupations were, of course, different but particular occupations were not the monopoly of any one caste. The choice of occupations seems to have been free.[1] The texture or quality[2] of the dresses of different castes, which cannot be depicted in sculpture, was also different *e.g.*, Brāhmins would put on dresses made of hemp, bark of Tirīta, deer-skin, kuśa grass, hair etc. The Brāhmin style of tying the Dhotī as pointed out by Dr. Motichand[3] has not been shown in the sculptures at Khajurāho. Hence it can be said that Khajurāho sculptures throw no light on the caste system as it prevailed at the time.

(C) DOMESTIC SCENES

The domestic life of the people is mostly depicted in the small friezes round the temples. A fairly complete idea of domestic life in India in the 10th and 11th centuries can be gained by a detailed study of the different occupations of the people, the dresses, ornaments, head gears, coiffeures and cosmetics as depicted in the Khajurāho sculptures.

The palace scenes depicting three or four men sitting in a balcony[4] with a pillared railing and a roof decorated with beautiful Toraṇas, show that kings, queens and rich people lived in palatial buildings having balconies. But in what type of houses

1. G. S. Ghurye—Caste & Class in India 1950, Chap. IV, p. 103.
2. Dr. Moti Chanda—Prāchīna Bhāratīya Veśa, Bhūshā, pp. 34-35.
3. -do- -do- p. 87, Fig. 111, p. 183, Fig. 278.
4. Rt outside Chaturbhuja T., Lt out Viś. N.T.

the other classes of people lived, has not at all been depicted in the Khajurāho sculptures.

The true picture of the domestic life of the people of the time (10th and 11th centuries) can be drawn only after studying the relations that existed between man and woman at that time.

We notice in the Khajurāho sculpture that woman always accompanied man on ceremonious or festive occasions.

In a scene (Fig. 84) in a museum piece a couple is going ahead with the man's left hand placed round the neck of the woman and right resting on his thigh. The couple is facing front.[1] Anothor couple[2] seems to be proceeding to a temple with offerings ; for the woman in this scene is holding a plate with both her hands. Some more couples are seen with garlands,[3] Lotus stalks,[4] Lotus flowers,[5] or a bird in hand.[6] It is rather surprising that a 10th century woman could go along with her husband with her arm round his waist or neck in Āliṅgana pose.[7]

The free mixing of men and women in society is further illustrated by a couple absorbed in talking[8] (Fig. 85) and holding a Lotus bud[9] or playing on the flute.[10]

At social gatherings men and women both drank together.[11] Several such bacchanalian scenes are depicted at Khajurāho and these are enough to prove the independence and freedom of movement enjoyed by women.

Men are shown either sitting or standing with bowls in hands and women with jugs are shown in the act of pouring out the contents of the jugs.[12] Sometimes the position

1 and 2. Museum.
3. Ṣānti N.
4. Inner Rt pradak. Viś. N.T.,
5. " " " " "
6. Inner pradak. Kanḍ. T.
7. Museum.
8. Ardhamaṇḍap Lak. T., Museum.
9. Back pradak Pārś. N.T.
10. " " " "
11. Imperial Kanauj, 1955—R.C. Majumdar—Chap. XII, p. 388.
12. Lt out lak. and Viś. N. Ts.

reversed and men holding pots are serving the liquid to women[1] ne of whom is asking for it with her hands outstretched.

On difficult problems both men and women used to consult ach other and act according to the decision arrived at after onsultations. Various couples are shown sitting together and alking with hands joined,[2] held in Vyākhyāna mūdrā[3] in an xplanatory attitude[4] or at the shoulder,[5] chest[6] or breast[7] s if seeking approval.[8]

Armed men are also shown taking leave of their wives efore proceeding on the front.[9]

On sorrowful occasions, husband and wife consoled each ther. But women, more prone to fall an easy prey to sorrowful noods, were more commonly consoled and diverted into other noods than men.

Women weeping[10] and hiding[11] their tears are being consoled y men who are trying to remove their hands from the face[12]. ometimes they even embraced[13] the wife or asked her forgiveness ith palms joined in Añjali pose.[14] This appeal to their love for omen must have been the last recourse of men.

Quite naturally, married people also quarrelled with each ther and then again was repeated the drama of pacifying angry noods and consoling each other or making a truce. The quarrel s suggested by their angry faces[15] or with the backs turned at one

1. Sm. Maṇdap frieze Viś. N.T.
2. Lt inner pradak. Pārś. N.T.
3. Museum.
4. Lt inner pradak. Prāś. N.T.
5. Lt out Pārś. N.T., Rt. out Pārś. N.T. (Here the woman's hand is on ian's chest).
6. Upper frieze inner pradak Viś. N.T.
7. Rt. out Pārś. N.T., Rt inner pradak Viś. N.T.
8. Lt out Pārś. N.T.
9. Rt out Viś N.T.
10. Small frieze inside Maḍap Viś. N.T.
11. Inner pradak Viś. N and Lt out Bh. Ch. Ts.
12. Inner pradak. Kanḍ. T.
13. Rt out Dūlādeo T.
14. Inner pradak Viś. N. and Lt out Bh. Ch. Ts.
15. Rt out Viś N.T.

another.[1] And the attempt to pacify is suggested by the arm o. the woman[2] placed lovingly on the shoulder or chest of the other. In one scene the child also joins his mother in pacifying the angry father.[3]

Sometimes men had to yield to the pride and temper of their wives. In all such cases it was the man who had to pacify his angry wife who stands with a face swollen in anger[4] or with her back turned[5] towards her husband. In their attempt men put their hands[6] on the shoulders of their angry wife or held her hands in their own.[7]

It would not be improper to discuss here the significance oi a few more scenes where men or women are trying to divert the attention of the other.

The man in a piece in the museum[8] is trying to offe: a full blown lotus to his wife who stands in front with he: hands crossed on her bosom. Two small figures of children hav: also joined in and are offering something to their mother. The woman here does not seem to be angry but is either shocked oı sick.

In the Śānti Nāth temple a woman[9] who is either very ii or is a queen (though she wears no crown) with many attendant is lying down while two or three men around her are playing oı musical instruments to cure her of her malady.

Besides being the weaker partner, woman wielded a goo deal of influence over them as the following scenes help us t conclude.

A woman in the Jagdambī temple[10] has put her restrainin

1. Lt out Kanḍ. T.
2. Back out Bh. Ch. T., Lt out Bh. Ch. T. and inner pradak Lak. T.
3. Lt out Bh. Ch. T.
4. Rt pradak Lak. T.
5. Rt out Lak. T.
6. Inner pradak Viś. N. T.
7. Lt out Pārś. N. T.
8. Museum.
9. Śānti N. T., Inside rt. corner.
10. Rt out Jag. T.

arm on the man's right hand to stop him from taking a rash step in anger.

In another scene the wife[1] in the Lakshman temple is checking her armed husband from going out to war.

Women, though, held in high esteem and enjoying complete freedom of movement in society, were not always free from the danger of wicked men having bad intentions. The husband always tried to shield her from bad men and even kept arms for her defence (Fig. 86).

In panel now in the local museum, a man[2] seems to be running away with his wife to save her from two men who are following the run away couple perhaps to kidnap the wife.

As a measure of self-defence women also kept arms.

A man[3] in the museum piece is trying to put his left hand at the woman's breasts, holding her left hand in his right. With her right hand the woman is aiming a pointed dagger at this man.

In spite of these measures of self-defence and amiable relation between men and women we do get scenes of cruelty towards women as well, though they are few in number.

A man[4] in a panel in the Lakshman temple is pulling his wife holding her plait in his right hand. The woman seems to be resisting and an onlooker is looking sadly at this quarrel between the husband and wife.

In the Kaṇḍariā temple two men[5] are holding the left and right arms of a woman who stands with joint palms pressing them to leave her.

Sometimes in anger rash husbands went so far as to attempt killing their wives with broad sword[6] or spear.[7]

1. Inside balcony back. Lak. T., Rt out Lak. T. Museum.
2. Museum.
3. Museum.
4. Small frieze Lt balcony pradak Lak. T., Rt out Viś N. T.
5. Lt out Kaṇḍ. T. (small frieze).
6. Lt balcony pradak Lak. T., Museum.
7. Rt out Dūlādeo & Lak Ts.

Although husbands are shown treating their wives cruely yet no scenes on the contrary have been found. This shows that in spite of all the freedom of movement and wielding influence over the husbands, the latter in the end had an upper hand over their wives.

Besides the care of the husband the most important duty of a woman was to look after her house and children.

Some of the scenes sculptured in the temples at Khajurāho depict women holding empty pitchers[1] or Kalaśa[2] as if going to the river, tank or well for fetching water. In the museum piece the woman[3] with the pitcher has a tortoise near her legs which further supports the inference that she has gone to the river bank for fetching water. Sometimes women are shown balancing these Kalaśas full of water over their heads[4] or near their shoulders[5], the latter only in case of small pots having lids like modern Gangājali without the pout.

Coming to the scenes of mother and child, we see that the mother[6] in the Lakshman temple is lying down with her baby, resting her head on her palm. She is preparing to suckle the baby who is looking fondly at her.

Other scenes depict the mother sitting on a cushion with the child playing beside her[7]; or the mother is standing with the baby in her arms who has put his small hand on the mother's breast.[8] Fond mothers are depicted in the act of kissing[9] the baby looking proudly in front[10] or looking fondly at the

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1. Museum, Lt. out Pārś. N and Kanḍ Ts-, Back out Dūlādeo T. (In the last two cases the child accompanies his mother),
2. Base of Bh. Ch. T.
3. Museum.
4. Museum.
5. Museum (Another piece here shows the Kalaśa with the lid), outside Dūlādeo T.
6. Sm. T. Rt front of Lak. T., Museum.
7. Museum, Sm. T. Rt front of Lak. T.
8. Rt inner pradak Viś. N. T., Lt out Viś. N. T.
9. Museum, Lt out Javārī & Viś. N. Ts.
10. Out Vām. & Lt pradak Kanḍ. Ts.

baby.[1] The mothers[2] sometime held a small bunch of three mangoes hanging by a stalk as a toy or plaything for their children. Mothers[3] are sometimes shown with two children, one in the arms and the other standing beside her and trying to climb up in the mother's arms[4] or clinging to her legs.[5] The bigger child[6] often helped the smaller one in climbing up to his mother's arms (Fig. 87).

In a small adjacent temple at the back of the Lakshman temple a mother[7] seems to be holding one of her twin childern in her arms and helping the other in climbing up to her waist. The children are of the same age and similar in appearance. Sometimes fond children are shown holding the Chunrī[8] or the Hāra[9] of the mother or asking for the eatables[10] that the mother has in a bowl or a pot[11] in her hands.

In a few scenes the mothers are shown engaged in teaching the child how to move on the knees[12] or explaining something written or painted on the wall.[13] Mothers are also engaged in playing with the child having a ball in hand which the child is ready to catch no sooner than it is thrown at him.[14]

In one scene the bold mother[15] is standing with a dagger in her left hand. She is looking at the opposite direction from her baby girl who is standing at her left. The mother seems to be guarding her daughter from some danger ahead.

The women's life was not restricted to the care of their husbands and children. Several panels at Khajurāho depict

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1. Rt out Vāman T., Museum.
2. Rt out Pārś N., Back outside Javāri (No bunch).
3. Top Pillar Mandap Viś. N.T.
4. -do- , Lt out Lak. & Viś. N. Ts. (Here there is only one child)
5. -do-
6. Rt out Lak. T.
7. Sm. T. at the Lt. back of Lak. T.
8. Lt out Viś N.T.
9. Śānti N. T. & Lt inner pradak Pārś. N. T.
10. Lt out Kanḍ. T.
11. Lt out Lak. T.
12. Lt out Kanḍ. T.
13. Lt out Lak. T.
14. Rt. out Jag. & Kanḍ. Ts.pillar Mandāp Lak. T.
15. Small frieze Rt back outside Lak. T.

women reading and writing, dancing or singing as well as taking to the practice of arms (See Chap. IX later). Other scenes depict them as busy in domestic chores either in their own houses or as servants in rich men's houses. These sculptures amply show that women were free to take part in every walk of life.

There is no evidence whatsoever at Khajurāho of the practice of Purdah in the 10th and 11th centuries. Not a single woman is depicted with so much as her Chunrī drawn over her head. On the contrary, the scanty dress of female figures, often with the upper part of the bodies completely bare, and even the lower part dressed in such thin garments that the body shows through, would go to prove a complete absence of prudery in the society of the day.

Two stones now placed in the local museum seem to prove that the practice of Satī was prevalent[1] (Fig. 88).

STANDARD OF LIVING

The luxurious living of men and women having male and female servants known as prasādhaka[2], prasādhikā and Sairandhrī[3] to attend to them as well as to help them in their engagements or duties; the fine dresses both plain and printed; the elaborate head gears and beautiful and ample jewellery worn by men and women show that the north Indian people of the 10th and 11th centuries had a high standard of living.

The couches[4] (Śayana) with soft cotton sheets, seats[5] with goose-feather cushions and folding tables further support the statement of a progressive society and luxurious living.

The limbs were annointed with saffron[6] and sandal pastes[7]. Musk[8] was used for fragrant smell and a number[9] of cosmetics

1. The Satī stone in the Museum is a rectangular slab and bears a crude impression of a female hand with figures of the Sun and the Moon drawn above, and the Argha of Śiva on one side. There is a square hole at the centre.

2 & 3. Age of Imperial Kannauj 1955—R.C. Majumdar, Chap. XII, p. 383.

4, 5, 6, 7 & 8. Age of Imperial Kannauj, 1955—R.C. Majumdar, Chap. XII, p. 383.

9. Refer to Chapter on cosmetics.

were applied which being too expensive have fallen into disuse now.

But this glorious picture of the society should not make us forget the existence of poor labouring classes of peasants who had little or only crude jewellery to adorn their persons and who had to work hard to earn their living.

Thus it seems that there were two classes of men—one were very rich and the other poor. Yet the poorest man of the time seems to be as well off as the middle class men of to-day, for he still shows some crude jewellery on his person which is unfortunately unknown to most of the poor and middle class men of to-day.

ASCETICS

The last Āśrama of the Varṇāśramadharma is Sanyāsa. After getting education and enjoying the pleasures of family life, a man enters into Vañaprasthāśrama or may enter into Sanyāsa. Leaving his family behind, he takes to a wandering life, in search of True knowledge, or of God. These A‹cetic scenes are depicted frequently in the small friezes round the temples and in the topmost stone slabs over the row of images. There are many scenes depicting ascetics engaged in different activities. The ascetic seems to have been a familiar figure in the 10th and 11th centuries.

Dress

The dress of the ascetics[1] consisted of a small narrow strip of cloth tied round the waist with two long bands attached to it, which is more properly known as "Langotī" in Hindi. Thus excepting a small part of their waists, the whole body was left bare.

The ascetics seem to have worn nothing on the head except the Jatāmukuta which is nothing but their own hair tied up in a knot. The peculiar Jatāmukuta that an ascetic is shown with in an image in the Museum[2] consists of three knots of hair,

1. Rt outside Bh. Ch T.
2. Museum.

two of which are tied above the two ears and one overhead in the centre. These knots are kept in place with a band tied crosswise over the central knot and lengthwise round the two knots over the ears.

The conical Jatāmukutas[1] with rounded tops and with bands tied round it were also common amongst ascetics as can be clearly concluded from four ascetic images having such head-gears shown in one single slab of stone. The Mukutas of all of them are similar though, the bands are tied in different ways. The Jatāmukuta of the ascetic seated at the feet of the god Agni[2] is tied just like a big broad and rather flat-topped turban.

Coming to the hair and beard styles of these ascetics, we see, that their hair[3] are invariably tied in a knot at the back of their necks. The only exception to the above statement is the pair of Jain ascetics[4] who have a clean shaven head and who wear no clothes whatsoever, thereby suggesting that they belonged to the Digambara Jain sect.

Regarding the beards too the Sādhūs were both clean shaven and with small goatees The ascetic[5] seated or standing with two male or female attendants, one standing on his right and the other on left, has a goatee without any whiskers. A small circular beard with whiskers has also been worn by an ascetic[6] image kept in the museum.

Occupations

Many of the ascetics seem to have engaged themselves in giving sermons, in teaching or in philosophical discussions and devotion to God.

Ascetic figures in the frieze on Kandarīā Mahādeva and Jagdambī Temples[7] are seen seated with twelve men in front

1. Museum.
2. Museum.
3. Back outside Viś. N.T.
4. T. No. 23 in front of Pārś. N.T.
5. Lt and Rt outside Bh.Ch. T.
6. Museum.
7. Base of Kanḍ and Jag. Ts.

facing the onlooker, each of these men has a small bag in one hand while the other is in Śānta Mudrā. They seem to be his devotees listening to his talk with offerings in their hands.

Some ascetics[1] are sitting and listening to a sermon given by one of their companions.

A king is shown as going in procession[2] to listen to the sermon of a Ṛshī. Herein we may also include a few scenes where ascetics are shown giving Dīkshā to their Śishyas.

An ascetic[3], having a beard, is seated with his right palm outstretched. On his open palm another man has kept his folded palms. It seems as if the ascetic with open palm is giving Dīkshā to a disciple.

A Ṛshī[4] is seated with his right hand resting on the earth In his left hand he is holding some thing as if to offer it to the woman seated in front. The woman is sitting in all humility with joined palms as if in obeisance. This singularly conspicuous scene reflects upon the complete freedom and high esteem that women enjoyed in the society of that time.

Teaching also formed an important occupation of these ascetics. An ascetic[5] is teaching his disciple who is reading in his presence.

A disciple is reading from a book and his ascetic Gurū is sitting in front listening to it. In the Viśvanāth temple a Gurū[7] in Abhaya mudra, with a scroll of paper in his left hand, has been shown as if explaining something to his disciple who is standing in front with joint palms. Two men[8] are seated one on each side of a folding table. One of them has a pen in hand while the other holds a scroll of paper. In another place, a Gurū[9] has a scroll of paper in one hand while his disciple is sitting in

1. Back out Viś. N.T.
2. Ardhamaṇḍap Lak. T.
3. Lt outside Pārś. N.T.
4. Lt inner Pradak, Viś. N.T.
5. Lt outside Bh. Ch. T.
6. Lt outside Bh. Ch. T.
7. Small frieze Maṇḍap Viś. N.T.
8. Rt back Ardhamaṇḍap Viś. N.T.
9. Rt balcony Ardhamaṇḍap Viś. N.T

front with joined palms. Two men[1] are sitting on either side of a sort of stand on which there is placed a manuscript. One man seems to be reading from a manuscript held in his hands while the other seems to be explaining something to him. An ascetic[2] is reading something to his disciple who is listening to him with joined palms as a mark of respect. Two men[3] are seated. One of them is reading a book while an ascetic with the black Kamaṇḍalu in his hand is listening to it.

There are scenes depicting ascetics carrying on some sort of discussion.

Two ascetics[4] are seated. Each has a manuscript in his left or right hand respectively. They seem to be discussing something between themselves.

Two Digambara Jain ascetics[5] are seated each with a manuscript in his left hand (Fig. 89). Between them is a folding table with a table cloth spread over it. The ascetic seated to the right is resting his right hand on the floor and the one on its left is explaining something to the former as the posture of his right hand suggests. Another couple of ascetics above is conversing with their hands hidden in a Gomukhī.

Yogic Practices

A few images found in peculiar Yogic postures suggest that Yoga was also practised at that time.

In the small shrine inside the Śānti Nāth Temple, an ascetic is shown pressing his nose with his hand as if practising prāṇāyām.

Another ascetic has kept his hands over his head while a third one is holding something in his hands which are kept over his stomach.

1. Rt outside Viś. N.T.
2. ,, ,, ,, ,,
3. Small frieze Rt inner Pradak. Kanḍ. T.
4. Sm. frieze back outside Viś N.T.
5. Temple No. 23 in front of Pārś. N., Rt outside Pārś. Nā and Lt outside Viś N.Ts.

Other Ascetic Scenes

Besides the occupations and Yogic practices already described, there are few more scenes depicting ascetics in various ways :

An ascetic[1] is shown with one hand in Abhaya mudrā and the other holding a Ghaṭa, on each side of him stands a female attendant.

An ascetic[2] is seated in Bhūmisparsha mudrā with a male and female attendant on each side.

An ascetic[3] is seated in Bhūmisparsha mudrā with one leg folded and the other pointing upwards. Attendants an each side of him are standing with joined palms.

An ascetic[4] is seated in the centre. The man standing to his left is holding a Chhattra while that on the right hand stands with joined palms.

A Digambara Jain ascetic[5], absolutely nude, stands with a pot in left hand. Two female images standing one on each side of him are holding his arms.

An ascetic[6] is standing with a Kamaṇḍalu in hand while the two female images standing one on each side of him are holding his arms.

Two ascetics[7] are proceeding forth with a Kamaṇḍalu and Chhattra in hand while a man and a woman are bowing down to them.

It seems that the advice of ascetics was sometimes sought by men who failed to arrive at any decision.

A man[8], armed with a sword which is resting on his shoulder, is listening to the advice of two ascetics seated in front of him.

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1. Balcony Ardhamaṇḍap Viś. N.T.
2. Rt outside Viś. N.T.
3. Small frieze outside Bh. Ch. T.
4. Rt outside Bh. Ch. T.
5. Rt back outside Jag. T.
6. Rt. outside Bh. Ch. T.
7. Lt outside Viś. N.T.
8. Rt. outside Pārś. N.T.

Another peculiar scene shows a Ṛshi[1] seated perhaps with his wife—the Ṛshipatnī. The Ṛshi's left leg is folded while the right one is touching the earth. His right hand is in Abhaya mudrā and the left one is holding a torch. His wife seated on his left has her right hand in Abhaya mudrā and in the left she holds a lotus-leaf shaped bowl.

Another scene[2] depicts two ascetics each seated on a cushion with their hair knotted at the back. Between them is placed a third cushion on which one of them is resting his left hand. The other has a pencil in his right hand and is being forced to write something on the board by two men, one of whom stands in front with a small board in one hand and a baton-like weapon in the other. With this weapon he seems to be threatening the ascetic. The other man who is also armed similarly is actually striking the ascetic on his head. A third man armed likewise stands at the back of the second man.

This peculiar scene makes us conclude that ascetics too were not free from maltreatment by men.

As another scene[3] shows, ascetics also drank intoxicants sometimes. Their scanty dress and hair style prove that they are ascetics asking for drink while a man with a pot stands ready to pour it out. Their topsy-turvy way of asking shows that they are drunk (Fig. 90.) This scene also proves the prevalence of Kaula, Kāpālika sect in this area.

1. Small frieze outside Bh. Ch. T.
2. Lower frieze Rt Pradak. Lak. T.
3. Lt. out Viś. N.T.

CHAPTER VI

DRESS

Ladies' Dress

In the Gupta period[1], the female dress was either a thin Sārī or a striped or embroidered petticoat for the lower half of the body while the upper half was sometimes covered with different types of blouses or else left bare. The queen's female attendants sometimes tied a Dupattā round their waist whose two ends were left flowing down below reaching upto the knees.

The blouses were full or half-sleeved reaching upto the waist or the knee and were called "Kañchuka". Sometimes, instead of a blouse, a broad strip of cloth covering the breasts fully was tied round the chest or a double jacket was worn.

The female singer's dress was a Sārī tucked up at the back reaching down to the ankles. The country women also wore Sārī in the same style except that their Sārī reached upto the knees instead of the ankles.

Coming to the 10th and 11th centuries, we see, that the striped or embroidered petticoat had almost disappeared and the Sārī had taken a different form altogether which would be dealt with in detail hereafter.

The Dupattā was thrown over the shoulders and not tied at the waist. And the blouse or the jacket also had gone out of use and had been replaced by the "Cholī".

The only point of similarity is the country woman's Dhotī or Sārī which does not seem to have undergone any change.

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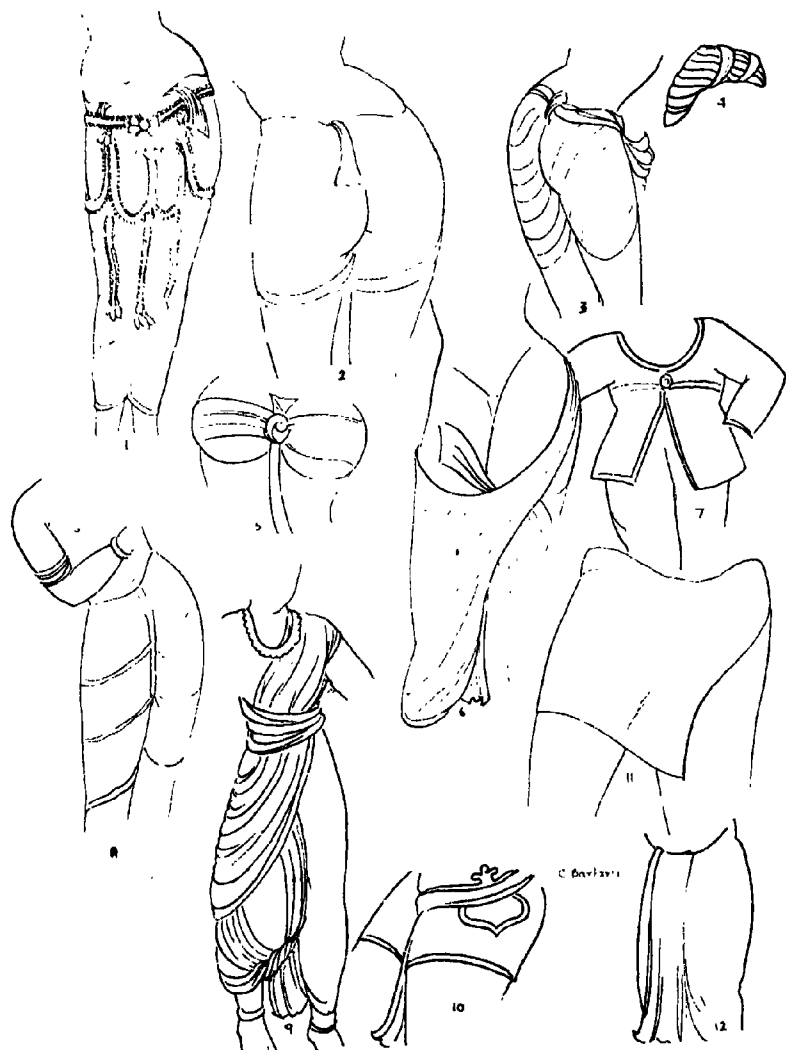
1. Dr. Moti Chand's "Prāchīna Bhāratīya Ves'a Bhūshā", pp. 219 to 221, Figs. 381 to 400 on pp. 216-217, 222-223.

PLATE—I

Dresses of Men and Women

(i) The Sārī

The female dress at the time, it would appear, consisted of three clothes—Sārī, Chunrī and Cholī. Of these three, the Sārī alone was necessary (Plate 1, Figs.1, 2, 3 & 6). Chunrī and Cholī could be easily dispensed with. But sometimes the Sārī was not an unstitched garment like its modern counterpart. The style of wearing it shows that it used to be sewn like the modern tight fitting pyjāmās[1] with gathers hanging down below the knee to the place where the two parts of the pyjāmā reach down *i.e.*, a little above the ankles. The Sarī stuck tightly to the body to show its beautiful curves. It had an opening above exactly like the modern European trousers and was worn in the same way. The gathers were made to hang in front with a view to hide the opening there. Around the waist, it had a belt sewn to it, the two ends of which were tied or fastened together and over which the Kaṭi Sūttra or ornamental waistband was worn to keep the Sārī in place.

These styles are illustrated in the following figures :

The woman in a panel in the Lakshman temple[2] is pulling on her Sarī by holding its upper belt. The opening in front shows her bare body.

The woman[3] to the left of the god's image in the Lakshman temple is also putting on her Sarī. She has the two ends of its belt in her hands and is going to put it up.

A woman on the outside wall of Viśvanath temple[4] holds only the left end of her Sārī in her left hand while in her right hand she is holding something over her head which hangs down towards her left shoulder.

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1. G.S. Ghurye—Indian Costume—Chap. V, p. 124, Fig. 201 (1951).
2. Inner Pradak Lak. T.
3. Rt outside Lak. T. Rt. back out Jag. T.
4. Rt front Viś. N.T.

The woman in a panel in the Kaṇḍariā temple[1] with her back to the spectators shows how tight-fitting the Sārī used to be on the back side. It seems that the woman is utterly bare but the edges of the Sārī shown a little above the ankle of her left leg prove that she is not naked.

The woman in the figure of a couple (Fig. 91) now found at Chhattarpur[2] is wearing a rather peculiar dress. She has a Sārī worn like the men's Dhotī with gathers in front and on this Sārī she is wearing a Chunrī which falls from her left shoulder covering her chest and then is tied round the waist. (Plate 1, Fig. 9).

The rustic woman in the museum[3] wears a Dhotī tucked up at the back reaching hardly up to her knees. (Plate 1, Fig. 3).

(ii) The Cholī

The Cholī or the Kucha-Bandha of that time used to be a narrow strip of cloth tied over the nipples covering hardly an inch and a half of the central portion of the breasts. Plate 1, Fig. 5 and Plate 4, Fig. 17.

The image of the ferocious looking goddess in the Museum[4] is shown wearing a Cholī of the type described above.

The woman in a scene on the wall of Kaṇḍariā temple[5] shown in an obscene pose is wearing a Cholī the narrow strip of which goes round her back as well.

In the Lakshman temple[6], a woman is shown actually putting on the Cholī—with her right hand she is supporting her breasts while her left hand goes up to the back of her right shoulder from over her head perhaps to adjust the Cholī.

Another style of putting on the Cholī is shown on the Viśvanāth temple[7]. As in the above scene the woman supports her

1. Rt outside Kaṇḍ. T.
2. Gandhi Smarak Chhattarpur.
3. Museum, Lt out Lak. T.
4. Museum.
5. Lt outside Kaṇḍ. T.
6. Rt outside Lak. T.
7. Lt outside Viś. N. T.

breasts with her right hand while her left hand is lifted and turned at the back with the elbow pointing upwards to push the narrow stripped Cholī a little below the shoulder bone.

(iii) The Chunrī

Lastly we come to the two scenes showing women with both the Cholī and Chunrī on.

The woman in an artistic Angaṛāī pose (yawning) in the inner pradakshiṇā of Kaṇḍariā temple[1] is wearing a Cholī of the given type and the long end of the Chunrī lying at her side can also be seen. Like the Cholī, the Chunrī also used to be a narrow strip of cloth starched and gathered together like modern Mohammedan Chunnīs. The Chunrī was brought under the arms and then thrown over both the shoulders with the long ends flowing at the back.

The woman playing on the flute in the Viśvanāth temple[2] also wears the Cholī and Chunrī both. The style of wearing them and their designs are the same as described above.

Male Dress

The male dress in the Gupta period[3] can be divided under a number of heads according to the status and occupation of men.

Kings' Dress

The Gupta kings put on a Dhotī and a turban in private but in public they put on various kinds of dresses suitable for various occasions. On hunting excursions, the king put on short knickers with a waist band tied at the waist for the lower half of his body while the upper half would be covered with a tight-fitting short-sleeved coat and the hair were tied, with a fillet. On the battle fields, the king's dress would consist of tight-fitting breeches with top boots to protect the legs, tight-fitting short or long sleeved coat with decorative work on the neck and front, known as 'ūrpāsaka', with its two long ends hanging down at both sides.

1. Inside Kaṇḍ. T.

2. Inside Pradak. Viś N. T.

3. Dr. Moti Chand's Prāchīna Bhāratiya Veśa Bhūshā—Chap. X, p.p. 182 to 206.

Rich people's dress

Princes and other well-to-do men of the Gupta age used to put on a Dhotī, tied with a waist band, and a turban.

Common people's dress

The dress of a commoner consisted of a Dhotī, a waist band, Dupattā or a Vaikakshya and a Chādar. But all of them were not put on together. A man either put on a Dhotī and a Chādar to cover his upper body or a Dupattā or else he only tied a waist band round his waist. Thus, we see that the Dhotī was the one compulsory part of dress.

Soldier's dress

Soldiers put on a Dhotī with the gathers tucked up at the back, so that it may not hamper their movements, and a full sleeved coat with the turban tied on the head. Sometimes, instead of the coat, they put on half sleeved short blouse reaching upto the chest only and tied their hair with a fillet. Further, they also put on a half-sleeved long coat reaching upto the knees and tied with a waist band at the waist.

The horsemen and elephant riders used to put on a full-sleeved long coat or a half-sleeved short coat (reaching upto the chest as above) having bordered neck and sleeves and the lower half of the body was covered with short knickers only. Sometimes horsemen also wore pyjāmās and full boots. While the elephant riders used to put on full-sleeved coats with the hair covered either with a kerchief or a flat cap instead. They wore knickers below.

Hunter's dress

The hunters put on a short Dhotī with the hair tied with a fillet or short knickers with a belt at the waist wearing Chappals in their feet. The richer ones of these wore coats reaching to the waist and pyjāmās with full boots.

Musician's dress

Musicians in Gupta period wore short blouses and a Dhotī tucked up at the back falling up to the knees. They also used to put on top hats, conical hats, or Donkey caps and frilled caps (the last one in the case of a dancer).

(i) Male dress at Khajurāho

In the 10th and 11th centuries men mostly wore the Dhotī alone tucked up at the back like the modern Dhotī as the god's and man's[1] images at Khajurāho depict. The Bhakta[2] at Chhattarpur however has a Dhotī tied like modern Tahamat. It differs only in having a number of gathers in front which the Tahamat now does not have (Plate 1, Fig. 12).

(ii) Knickers

1. The soldier's dress[3] consisted of only short, tight fitting knickers reaching half way between the thigh and the knee—Plate 1, Fig. 10.

2. Hunter's dress[4] also, like soldier's, consisted of only a small knicker reaching well above the knee.

3. As a scene in the Kandariā temple[5] shows, musicians also wore short knickers. But sometimes a small square piece of cloth was attached to the left half of the knickers to fall between the legs—Plate 1, Fig. 11.

The jungle dwellers also wore short knickers while the servants and attendants wore Dhotī—Plate 1, Figs. 8, 12.

4. The elephant riders[6] wore only short knickers and no coats like those of the Gupta period. Their hair seem to be tied with kerchiefs or covered by flat caps.

(iii) Tunic

In practically all the scenes, the upper half of male images is left bare. There is only one scene depicting a king[7] on horse back with a drawn sword in his right hand, turning to kill a lion attacking him from the back, wearing a Dhotī, a tunic and a turban—Plate 1, Figs. 4 & 7. The Dhotī has already been described. The tunic was a short coat with long loose sleeves with the front parts fastened together by a thin band.

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1 and 2. Gandhi Smārak Chhattarpur.

3. Back base Lak. T.

4. Museum.

5. Rt outside Kanḍ. T.

6. Rt out Lak. T.

7. Rt outside Kanḍ. T. (small frieze).

(iv) Turban

His turban is like the small modern Sikh turban. The very dress is enough to indicate that the figure represents most probably a king.

(v) The Sacred thread

The Yajñopavīta also formed a necessary part of male dress. It was nothing but a thin band falling upto the waist from across the right shoulder.

The children's dress in the Gupta Age was a striped or plain Dhotī with a half sleeved coat having rounded corners in front called Chhannavīra. They tied a fillet round their heads to keep the hair in place. Dhotī and Dupattā or a Patakā and coat *i.e.*, Kanchuka and Knickers also formed children's dress in that period.

But at Khajurāho, we find babies depicted with bare bodies save and except the Katisūttra tied at the waist. As children grew older, they wore tight-fitting drawers and later still, they put on knickers or Dhotīs reaching up to the knees only.

The so-called babies[1] dress is illustrated in a scene showing a mother with two children depicted on the outer wall of the small temple on the right back of Lakshman Temple. (Described in the Chapter on "Mother and Child"). The baby has only a Katisūttra tied round his waist.

The grown up children's dress is illustrated in the Pāthśālā scene[2] described above on the outside of the small temple on right front of Lakshman Temple The children are wearing knickers or Dhotīs the latter reaching up to the knees only.

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1. Rt back sm. Tś outside Lak. T.
2. Sm. T. on the Rt front of Lak. T.

CHAPTER VII

HAIR STYLES AND COSMETICS

Nothing strikes the student of the Social History of ancient and medieval India more than the numerous styles of hair-dressing as shown in the pictures and images of women in the sculpture of the times. The Ajantā paintings and the female statues from the Gupta times onwards exhibit a variety of hair-styles which can scarcely be rivalled even by modern coiffures of today perhaps in any country of the world. The Khajurāho panels and friezes and figures lag in no way behind their precursors in this respect.

Women of the Gupta Age wore long tresses of hair which were either tied in a round knot at the back of the neck[1] or left open to flow in long loose tresses[2]. The female dancers and musicians seem to have been very stylish and[3] fond of tying their hair in two knots over the ear (like that of the Tablā player in one of the Ajantā paintings) or on the top of the head to the right and left sides of it (that of the woman sitting next to her in the same painting). Sometimes three knots of hair were tied on the head—one to the right another to the left and the third on the top (the dancer). Another dancer[3] has tied a small knot on top and plaited the rest of the hair with the plait doubled and tied again at the back.

But gradually the fashion seems to have changed for at Khajurāho women are depicted only with one knot of hair or else with plaited hair. The knots were tied in different ways to enhance their beauty as well as to show the tastes of the time.

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1. Dr. Moti Chand's Prāchīna Bhāratīya Veśa Bhūsha, Chapter X, p. 217, Figs. 389-90-95 ; p. 223, Figs. 406-7 ; p. 226-227, Figs. 410-13-15, 18, 19 and 21 ; p. 232, Figs. 422-23.

2. *Ibid*, Chapter X, p. 217, Figs. 391-92-93.

3. *Ibid*, Chapter X, p. 227, Figs. 416, 420.

Two ways of hair dressing seem to have been common at Khajuraho. In one, the hair were combed downwards at the back with or without parting, for the parting is not very distinct, then the long tresses are gathered together and twisted in one long roll after which they are tied in one big knot at the back. This knot is further beautified with a *Borlā*[1] inserted in it—Plate 2, Figs. 1, 2, 3 and 10.

In a scene in the Pārśvanāth temple[2] a woman is shown twisting her tresses in one long roll—Plate 2 Figs. 4 and 12.

In the Viśvanāth temple[3] a woman is shown playing on the flute with her hair tied in a beautiful knot at the back. The knot is rather resting at the back of her neck, with the jewels inserted in between, one on top of the knot and the other hanging down below it. Another decorative set of beads goes over her head from ear to ear—Plate 2, Fig. 1. There are two more scenes[4, 5] to illustrate the same style of hair-dressing with similar kinds of jewels decorating the hair.

In a panel in the Viśvanāth Temple, the woman[6] with the paint-board and a brush in hand has the above kind of coiffure but besides the Borlā she also has a beautiful coronet placed on top of her head with a pattern of crosses and semi-circles—Plate 2, Fig. 10.

The woman shown in the Kandariā temple[7] is shown with a pointed tumbler-shaped knot of hair tied at the back of her neck. The lower portion of her Borlā hangs at her back between the shoulder bones while its upper part instead of being placed over the knot as usual is placed over her head in the middle parting perhaps—though the parting is not visible.

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1. Borlā, a Mārwāri jewel worn by married women in the middle parting of hair.
2. Rt outside Pārś. N.T.
3. Inner Pradak. Viś. N.T.
4 and 5. Lt outside Lak. T. Inside Viś. N.T.
6. Lt outside Viś. N.T.
7. Rt front outside Kanḍ. T.

PLATE—II

Ladies Hair style and coiffures

Another woman shown in a niche[1] has the above given tumbler-shaped knot of hair tied at the usual place. But the decorative set of beads is here tied round her knot or Jūra with both the parts of Borlā hanging at her back.

In the divine Jain couple[2] the consort of Gomedha is shown with a very modern type of Chignon. Her hair is tied round a circular disc or modern donnet making a complete circle. The lower part of the Borlā is not visible but its upper part is shown on the top centre of her head.

Coming to the second type of hair style, we see, that here the hair are combed not towards the back but upwards and then they are rolled in a long tress (Plate 2, Fig. 7) as shown in an image in the Viśvanāth temple [3, 4, 5]. This long tress is tied on top of the head in the shape of a semi-circular disc with the Borlā inserted at the centre to keep the hair in round shape—Plate 2, Figs. 5, 6 and 8.

In the Pārśvanāth Temple[6] a woman is shown with her hair combed upwards and tied in a knot on top of her head like the hair-knot of Sanyāsīs—Plate 2, Fig. 9.

Men's hair styles

In the Gupta period[7] men wore long hair falling on both the shoulders or below them in long tresses. They tied their hair with a fillet or wore a cornet on the head which kept the hair in place. Excepting in one case where the musician[8] with the Vīnā has tied his hair in two knots over his head, tying of the hair in knots does not seem to have been in fashion with men in the Gupta Age. Sometimes short cut hair[9] were also worn.

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1. Back inside Viś. N.T.
2. Inside Sānti N.T.

3, 4, 5. Lt outside Viś. N.T., Rt outside Viś. N.T.

6. Lt outside Pārś. N.T.
7. Dr. Moti Chand's Prāchīna Bhāratiya Veśa Bhūshā, Chap. X, Figs. on p. 188, 89, 92, 93, 96 and 97.
8. *Ibid*, Chap. X, p. 204, Fig. 346.
9. *Ibid*, Chap. X, p. 205, Figs. 349, 351 and 352.

It is surprising to see that in images and sculptures of the Gupta Age, men are mostly clean shaven[1]. Soldiers[2], horsemen[3], king's servants[4], oil pressers[5], and shopkeepers[6] alone are shown with moustaches. Beards[7] seem to have been worn by foreigners alone as no Indian is depicted with a beard.

Men's hair-styles as depicted in the Khajurāho sculptures seem to have been of the simplest type, and show very little difference from those of earlier times.

A god[8] is shown with his hair combed downwards in the usual style but he has a cornet placed on his head which is very much like the trident-shaped diadem of ladies.

Another man[9] is shown with his hair combed downwards at his back while a sort of halo gives god-like expression to his face.

The god Bhairava (in the Museum[10]) is again shown with the above given style of combing his hair, and with the halo behind his head.

To give an expression of ferocity the god Yama[11] has a halo composed of the tresses of his hair, at the back of his head. The tresses look like tongues of fire or a hundred-hooded snake.

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1. Dr. Moti Chand's *Prāchina Bhāratiya* Vesā Bhushā Chap. X, p.p. 196-97, 204-5 (Figs.)
2. *Ibid*, Chap. X, p. 196, Fig. 319.
3. *Ibid*, Chap. X, p. 197, Fig. 322.
4. *Ibid*, Chap. X, p. 205, Fig. 352.
5. *Ibid*, Chap. X, p. 207, Fig. 360.
6. *Ibid*, Chap. X, p. 208, Fig. 359.
7. *Ibid*, p. 192, Fig. 305, p. 193, Fig. 313, p.p. 213-339.
8. Rt outside Viś. N.T.
9. Rt outside Bharat C.T.
10. Museum.
11. Rt Back out Jag T.

PLATE—III

Gents Hair style and coiffures

In another scene[1] of a flying couple of Vidyādhara and consort—the consort has her hair tied on top in semi-circular disc with the Borlā inserted in centre. The Vidyādhara has a trident shaped head gear tied round his head.

The hair style of the god in the museum[2] is extraordinarily plain and simple with no decorative element on his head.

The human figure of the Bhakta[3 a, b] seated with joined palms also has a very plain and simple hair style without any decorations—Plate 3, Fig. 3.

As can be inferred from the simple design of its jewellery, clothes and rustic appearance, a couple shown in a Museum[4] piece seems to belong to the country-side. The hair style of both the man and woman are exactly similar *i.e.*, hair combed downwards and tied into a big knot resting on the right and left shoulders of each.

In the panel of Sādhūs in the Museum[5] they are shown having rather a peculiar hair style. Their hair are divided into three equal parts—the central one goes to make a big knot on top of the head while each one of the remaining two parts makes a knot over the two ears—making it triple knot—Plate 3, Fig. 15. The top knot of these is decorated with a cross band design with three jewels studded in between two parallel lines drawn vertically.

The pradakshiṇā scene inside the Lakshman temple[6] exhibits a very modern hair-dressing style. The man, standing behind the kneeling woman who is bowing down, has his hair cut in the modern short style reaching up to the ears on both the sides with the side parting instead of the middle one—Plate 3, Fig. 14.

The hair of the image in the Viśvanāth temple[7] are a bit longer and reach up to the shoulders. They are combed upwards

1, 2, 3 *a*. Museum. 3*b*. G. S. Chhatterpur.
4. Museum.
5. Museum.
6. Lower frieze inner Pradak. Lak. T.
7. Small frieze Rt front outside Viś. N.T.

falling at the back of the neck having no middle or side parting. But somteimes such bobbed hair were parted on one side and combed downwards—Plate 3, Fig. 3.

COSMETICS

Khajurāho sculptures also throw a flood of light on the ways and habits of women of the age in regard to their personal toilet. Women in ancient India seem to have been very beauty-conscious and evinced their aesthetic sense in the way they added to their natural graces by artificial aids and embellishments.

In the period under review also, ladies seem to have been fond of elegant articles of wear and the application of various kinds of cosmetics to enhance their charms.

Every temple at Khajurāho is crowded with a number of statues depicting men and women engaged in the daily pursuit of pleasure and profession. The Khajurāho statutary also depicts various scenes illustrating the common use of cosmetics and perfumery as will be evident from the figures of various sizes which are still found intact as described below.

As a part of their toilet, preliminary to bathing, the women would annoint their bodies with various pastes called Anulepana and Aṅgarāga[1]—a perfumed ointment used to dispel offensive smells such as that of perspiration.

Aṅgarāga and Anulepana were pastes prepared from the roots of a grass called Uśira or of fine sandal wood. Other kinds of pastes were also prepared from Kāleyaka (an oil producing plant), Kālāguru (the black aguru) and harichandana (a yellow pigment). Oils were prepared from Ingudi fruits, Manahśilā and harītālā. Kautilya also mentions these three plants as Tilakarṇika, in his Arthaśāstra. After the bath, the hair were dried up with the fragrant incense of the blāck aguru, lodhra-dust, Dhūpa, and other scented substances[2]. The body was further perfumed

1. *Vide* India in Kālidāsa by B.S. Upadhyaya, p. 193.
2. *Ibid*, a, p. 193.

by musk[1]. Men and women both applied the Tilaka mark : their forehead with a paste made by mixing haritala and mani hśila. Anjana (antimony) was applied to the eyes with a śalāk or pencil. Women also used collyrium for this purpos Chandana and Kunkuma (saffron and sandalwood paste), beside being used for marking or decorating the forehead, were als applied by women to their breasts in order to give them a coo ing effect. Women used the paste of Śuklaguru and gorochan for painting their cheeks and waists with various foliage pa terns. This was known as Viśeṣaka[2] and the leafy patterns wer called patralekha. These designs were made by artistic arranging the white dots of the Śuklaguru and gorochana past a well as dots of many other colours.

Women applied lac dye (āltaka) to their lips and then be meared over them a kind of powder called lodhra-dust prepare from lodhra wood which turned them yellowish red. The li dye was like a wax solvent to protect the lips from effects winter cold. Lac dye was also applied on the sole of women feet and as they went to fetch water from the tanks it re dened the flight of steps leading to the edge of water in the tank

The looking glass was an indispensable accessory to toile and in the absence of looking glass they appear to have be made of polished metals. Gopi Nath Rao[3] also supports t theory that metallic mirrors were made in ancient India an the industry has not yet died out from its native land. T mirrors found at Khajurāho, in the hands of ladies, are of co vex surface, and this proves that they were metallic mirror Such mirrors are still made in a place called Aramula in Trava core and they are so true that they do not cause any distortic in the reflection. The Mānasāra[4] says that mirrors should quite circular having a decorated rim with the edge a litt raised.

1. The Age of Imperial Kannauj 1955—Ed. by R.C. Majumdar, Cha XII, p. 383.

2. "Viśeṣaka is explained in the Amarakośa as patralekha patrāngı tamāl-patra tilaka chitrakāni Viśeṣakam—Kālidās ka Bhārat by B. Updhayaya 1954, Vol. 1, p. 193.

3. Quoted from Kālidāsa ka Bhārat by B.S. Upadhyaya, Banaras, 19 Vol. I, p. 323.

4. Kālidāsa ka Bhārat by B.S. Upadhyaya 1954, Vol. I, p. 323.

There are references to the art of toilet (prasādhanakalā and prasādhanavidhi) to toilet male and female attendants (prasādhakah, prasādhikāh) and even perhaps to a toilet case (prasādhika).

Of the many articles of toilet, flowers were of great importance and played a great part in the personal make up of the people. Women stuck flowers in their hair and wore them as ornaments. Women played with lotuses in their hands, placed Kunda blossoms and mandāra flowers in their hair, śirīsa flowers on their ears, flowers blossoming in rainy season on the parting of their hair and knit Kurabaka flowers in their tresses. Already a professional class had grown up corresponding to florists of today. They were then known as puṣpalāvi.

Although the details given above are found in the works of Kālidāsa certain images sculptured at Khajurāho definitely prove the continuance of all those practices in the 10th and 11th centuries and also the familiarity of the ladies of the time with them.

Use of scented pastes

The practice of applying Angarāga and Anulepana finds corroboration in scenes depicted at Khajurāho which show women undergoing the elaborate art of toilet[1].

Use of powder

A second scene depicted on the wall illustrates what appears to be the daily ritual of toilet, such as, the application of the usual rouge or powder to her cheek[2] with a puff while holding a mirror in one of her hands.

Decoration of eyelids

The next scene presents a woman putting antimony[3] or collyrium to her eyes with a Śalākā while a boy attendant is

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1. Lt outside Kand. Vām., Pārś. N. and Lak. Ts., Lt Pradak, Kanḍ. T. Rt outside Kanḍ. and Viś. N. Ts.

2. Lt outside Kand and Museum, Lt outside Vāman T.

3. Rt outside Pārś. N., Lt outside Viś. N & Dūlā., Back of Lak. Ts.

standing by with the toilet set in his hands (as in Fig. 92) though in another scene both the boy attendant and the ārasī are missing.

Decoration of forehead

A third scene[1] shows a woman putting a mark (or tilak) on her forehead while looking into a mirror, held in the other hand. Another woman is represented in the act of dipping her finger in a bowl held in one of her hands, with no other apparent reason than for putting the customary dot on her forehead.

Use of Vermillion

In one of these scenes a woman is shown in the act of putting vermillion[2] into her hair-parting, while holding a mirror in one of her hands. A boy attendant is also standing by her side. This fashion[3] seems to have been newly introduced in society as no earlier mention of the practice has come to the writer's notice.

Decorating the waist

In another scene a woman with a pencil in one hand is shown as if making a foliage pattern around her waist[4] while her other hand is folded near her breast.

Colouring the feet

One of the scenes shows a woman, standing on her right leg with her back or front towards the spectators, applying the lac dye[5] or what is known as Āltā to the sole and edge of her

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1. Lt outside Viś. N. Rt outside Viś.N. & Bh. Ch., Back outside Viś. N. Ts.

2. Lt outside Kanḍ. & Lak., Rt. outside Jag. Back outside Viś. N., Lt pradak Lak. Ts.

3. B.S. Upadhyaya in his book "India in Kālidāsa" also refers to the custom of colouring the feet though he is silent about use of Vermillion, p. 194.

4. Back outside Vām. T.

5. Lt outside Lak., Pārś. N. & Viś. N. T. Rt outside Bh Ch. Back outside Dūlā. Ts.

left foot. A boy attendant is assisting her with a bowl or Ārasī in hand, Fig. 93. In a similar scene a woman is shown supporting her breast with one hand while with the other she is applying altā as described above[1].

Mirror

The looking glass is inseparable from the toilet. Whenever a woman is to apply powder or rouge to her cheeks, the tilak mark on her forehead, Unguent to the eyes and vermillion in the middle parting of her hair she has to do so with the help of a mirror. Besides its use for the application of cosmetics, it is very frequently used for setting right the position of head jewellery, for making plaits of the hair, for admiring their personal beauty by looking into it (as in Fig. 94) and sometimes for hiding the face from stranger's gaze or even from the husband's out of shyness.

Such uses of mirror for the purpose above-mentioned are substantiated from the scenes at Khajurāho.

In a scene[2] a woman is shown arranging her hair with her right hand while she holds the Ārasī near her face with the other hand.

In another scene[3] a woman stands in an easy posture and adjusts her head jewellery in its proper place.

In her left hand there is an Ārasī held near her face while the right hand is placed on her head to hold the jewellery. In some of these scenes the women are shown looking into the mirror, held right in front of the face[4], in others the mirror is held obliquely to permit the side face[5] to be fully reflected. In another scene[6] the mirror is held in a position so as to reflect the

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1. B. S. Upadhyaya in his book "India in Kālidāsa" also refers to the custom of colouring the feet though he is silent about use of vermillion, p. 194.

2. Lt outside Vām. T.

3. Lt outside Kanḍ., Rt outside Lak. Back inside Pārś. N. Ts.

4. Lt outside Bh. Ch. T. Rt outside Ch. Bh. & Viś N. (Rt hand of the woman is in Abhaya mudrā.) Rt inner Pradak. Kanḍ. Ts.

5. Lt outside Kanḍ. T.

6. Lt outside Kanḍ. Rt outside Ch. Bh. Ts.

back portions of her body to advantage. They are shown standing in various attitudes—sometimes they fold their hands above their shoulders[1], resting them on their hips[2] or thighs[3], support their breasts, admiring[4] them in the mirror, and sometimes again they are represented in dance[5] poses.

In one of the scenes a woman is shown as if screening her face from view[6] with an Ārasī which may be taken a sense of extreme modesty or shyness.

Cosmetic containers

In a different scene a woman is shown holding a square casket[7], probably a cosmetic container, in her hands. Sometimes the cosmetic container has lotus-like petals and looks very much like a full blown lotus. But as the woman seems to be opening its lid with her fingers it can be taken to be a cosmetic container,

Use of Flowers

From some of the scenes it appears that flowers were often used by women for the adornment of their persons.

Tattoo marks

Some of the female images bear peculiar tattoo marks such as the figures of a lizard[8] or that of a scorpion[9] on the thigh or a little above the ankle. It is rather strange that creatures so grotesque as these were considered in those days patterns pleasing to the eye for purposes of bedecking women's bodies. Perhaps like a common belief among villagers in modern days, it was supposed that the tattoo marks would protect the person against the poisonous effect of the bites of these creatures.

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1. Back outside Vām. T.
2. Lt outside Bh.Ch. T. Rt. outside Ch.Bh. & Viś. N. (Rt hand of the woman is in Abhaya mudrā. Rt inner Pradak. Kanḍ. Ts.
3. Lt outside K and T.
4. Lt outside Bh. Ch. and Kanḍ. Ts.
5. Lt and Rt outside Viś. N.T.
6. Lt Pradak. Kanḍ. T.
7. Lt out Ādi. N.T.
8. Rt Pradak. Viś. N. T.
9. Rt Pradak. Kanḍ. T.

The scenes showing women putting vermillion[1], colouring their feet being assisted by another woman[2] and looking into the mirror[3] have also been found in some of the temples at Bhuvaneśvara though they are not so common as at Khajurāho.

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1. Lt and Back outside Rājrānī.
2. Lt outside Lingarāj T. Rt outside Brahmeśvara.
3. Back outside Lingarāj, Rt outside Brahmeśvara and Lt outside Rājrānī.

CHAPTER VIII

ORNAMENTS

The ornaments worn by men and women in Northern India in the 10th and 11th centuries are very much like those used by the people in the Gupta Age when the jeweller's art had made remarkable progress in respect of both a greater variety of designs and a better finish of the ornaments.

Women did not use any ornaments for decorating their heads or hair in the Gupta period. They adorned their hair with flowers[1] only. The queens alone put crowns on their heads. They wore Kuṇḍalas or Karṇaphūlas in the ears. The Kuṇḍalas were of very plain and simple designs.[2] The designs of tops or Karṇaphūlas were also not so varied[3] as of those found at Khajurāho. The necklaces, Hāra or Ardhahāra, worn by them had one or two strings with long hanging pendants reaching down to the middle of the body. The Hāra, very much like those depicted in the Khajurāho sculptures, used to fall on the breast[4] and were of very simple designs plainly executed having no fine finish like those of Khajurāho.[5] One figure of a lady is however shown wearing a thin chain round her neck in the centre of which on the front hangs a big pendant studded with jewels.[6] This is very much like the chain pendants worn by modern women and there is no exact replica of it at Khajurāho. The armlets worn by women in the Gupta Age are either plain and round like a big bangle[7] or are made of thin sheets of gold cut into a broad band becoming triangular towards the centre with some simple design

1. Prāchina Bhāratīya Veśabhushā by Dr. Moti Chand, (p. 217, Fig 388).
2. Ibid, p. 216, Fig. 325.
3. Ibid, p. 217, Figs. 394-395.
4. Ibid, p. 217, Figs. 389, 390, 392.
5. Ibid, p. 217, Figs. 388 to 395.
6. Ibid, p. 216, Fig. 385.
7. Ibid, p. 216, Fig. 385.

drawn over this triangle.[1] A queen is also shown wearing an armlet having a triple-leafed pattern having a central chain or beaded string attached to its lower ends.[2]

Women mostly wore two bangles only but two of the women are shown wearing a larger number of bangles.[3]

A striking feature of Gupta jewellery is the rare use of Kaṭisūttra or waist band. (Out of about one dozen scenes, illustrated on pages 216 and 217 of Dr. Moti Chand's work[4], only three women are shown wearing waist bands). One has three chains with circular patterns on them attached to a clasp in the centre in front.[5] Another maid on the left of the former (*i.e.*, No. 10) has a single striped Kaṭisūttra of similar design having a clasp in front.[6] The third woman wears a Kaṭisuttra of double string of beads at her waist fixed in front by a big round clasp.[7]

At the ankles, women in the Gupta Age, wore plain Karas[8] unlike the images at Khajurāho who are wearing Pāyala of different designs.

It seems that in the Gupta period use of finger[9] rings was very rare being common amongst kings and queens only and the toe rings were quite unknown to the people.

The use of nose pins is conspicuous by its absence both in the Gupta Age as well as Khajurāho. Hence the assertion that the use of nose-pins was copied by the Indians from their Muslim invaders, made by Hira Chand Ojha[10] seems to be correct.

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1. Dr. Moti Chand's Prāchīna Bhāratīya Veśabhūshā, p. 217, Fig. 388.
2. Ibid, p. 217, Fig. 390.
3. Ibid, p.p. 216-217, Figs. 386, 387, 390 and 392.
4. Although the figures given in Moti Chand's book do not depict finger rings even on royal personages, yet we know that Chandra Gupta I in his coin of the crescent topped standard is offering a ring (or a flower) to his queen Kumāra Dēvī.

5 & 6. Ibid, p. 217, Fig. 392.

7. Ibid, pp. 216-217, Figs. 391-392.
8. Ibid, p. 223, Fig. 406.
9. Ibid, p. 216, Fig. 386 (central princess looking into the mirror).
10. Madhyakālina Bhāratīya Saṁskriti by Hira Chand Ojha, p. 40.

In the tenth and eleventh centuries, both men and women were very fond of putting on big and showy ornaments in their ears, round the neck, on the arms and wrists, around the waist and on the ankles. These ornaments were known as Karṇaphūla, Hāra and Ardhahāra, Keyūra, and Kamkana, Kaṭisūttra, Karā (in case of men) and Nūpura and Pāyala respectively (in case of women only). The finger rings—Aṅguliyaka and toe rings—were also used both by men and women though their use was not very common.

The artistic bell-shaped, bud-shaped, and trefoil patterns of these ornaments show that generally gaudy and heavy ornaments were liked by the people. The liberal use of jewellery for every part of the body more or less balanced the scanty dress in covering most of the bare body.

Head ornaments were mostly worn by women and the Borlā (like the modern Marwari Borlā worn in the hair parting on the forehead) seems to have been indispensable. Just as married Marwari ladies of today must compulsorily put on the Borlā on every auspicious occasion, similarly with ladies in the tenth and eleventh centuries, its use seems to have been essential as none of the fully dressed female images at Khajurāho is shown without this head jewel either in the middle parting on top of the head or tucked in the chignon behind. It seems that like the Marwaris of today it was considered as the sign of marriage.

The jeweller's art seems to have been at its highest perfection[1] in the 9th, 10th and 11th centuries, in India. The gods and goddesses[2] as well as male and female figures depicted in large numbers in the temples at Khajurāho are shown with abundant jewellery[3] on them and each piece of jewellery—

1. The Age of Imperial Kannauj 1955—R. C. Majumdar—Chap. XII, p. 383.
2. The jewellery worn by gods and goddesses reflects the regional dresses worn by the people of the place—India Images—1921,—B. C. Bhattacharya, Vol. I, p. 54.
3. For details of gods and goddesses' jewellery refer to : Development of Hindu Iconography 1941—J. N. Banerjee, pp. 317-20, Hindu Iconography—Gopi Nath Rao, Vol. I, Part I, pp. 22-34. Indian Images—1921, Part I, pp. 55-57.
4. Museum.

necklaces, armlets, bracelets etc.—exhibits at least half a dozen different designs. These beautiful designs of jewellery for different parts of the body show that the jewellers and goldsmiths of the time were expert in their art. Head ornaments inlaid with gems, Kuṇḍalas of varied shapes, bracelets, necklets and Hāras of pearls or gold beads or set with precious stones all depict the height of perfection achieved by the goldsmiths or Hiraṇyakāras of the day.

Bendā

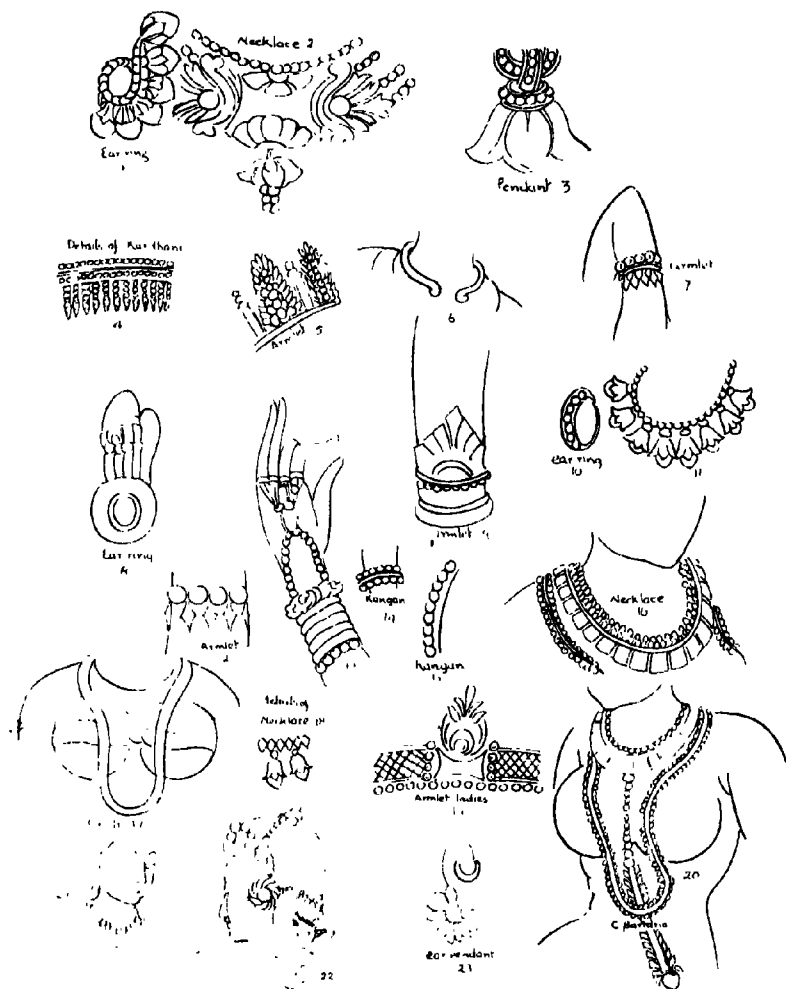
Considering first of all the jewellery for the forehead or what is now called the "Bendā",[1] we see that it was of the shape of a round pendant with floral designs worked out in beads or in precious stones with small hanging pendants of beads, rubies, pearls or thin gold plates cut in the form of a leaf.

Kundalas

Next, we come to the different types of Kuṇḍalas or earrings. These may be broadly divided into two classes : those that hang down like modern Kuṇḍalas and those which resemble the Karṇaphūlas of old times and tops of to-day. The Kuṇḍalas are of two different kinds : round circlets hanging down from a thin wire which passes through the hole in the ear-lobe ; and the Kuṇḍala hanging down from the thin wire attached to its ends. The wire passes through the hole in the ear-lobe and is fixed to a hook in the Kuṇḍala. In short the former may be a Kuṇḍala of a single piece and the latter having two pieces. The goddess in the museum[2] has put on a Kuṇḍala having two pieces. The first one of which is a plain ring passing through the hole in the ear-lobe and the second part is a thick heavy circlet of gold with circular lines drawn over it. At one end of the Kuṇḍala are fixed chains having bead pendants hanging down on the shoulders.

1. Rt out Lak. T.

2 Museum.

PLATE—IV

Ladies ornaments

The Gomedha couple in the Śānti Nāth temple[1] is also wearing the same type of Kuṇḍalas which have no hanging pendants and which resemble a 'Chakra' in shape—Plate 4, Fig. 22.

Turning the Kuṇḍalas consisting of a single piece, we have it depicted in the female image standing to the right of the god Śiva. She has the 'Chakra' Kuṇḍala[2] hanging down from her ears. The 'Chakra' Kuṇḍala means a Kuṇḍala with a small circlet in the centre having a bigger concentric circle having meandering lines towards the outer edge which make it irregular but give it a beautiful appearance.

The Kuṇḍala worn by the lady in the Viśvanāth temple[3] who is standing with a bunch of mangoes has a big circle in the centre, round which there are encircling gold beads and from its top juts out a thin gold wire to pass through the ear-lobe—Plate 4, Fig. 10.

The Chakra Kuṇḍala is again repeated but here it has a big arrow passing horizontally from one of its ends to the other. One of the pointed ends of the arrow rests on the cheek and the other remains at the back of the ear[4].—Plate 2, Fig. 10 or Plate 4, Fig. 22.

The earrings of the naked goddess with the bowl form of big round Kuṇḍalas with pendants of beads hanging down over the shoulders from the centre.[5]

Karnaphūlas

Lastly we come to the Karnaphūlas[6] of the form of concave discs with double lines at the edge. They seem to be hanging down from the ear-lobes the holes of which were specially enlarged for wearing them—Plate 4, Figs. 1, 8 & 23.

1. Rt corner niche Śāntī N. T.
2. Rt front Viś. N. T.
3. Rt front Viś. N. T., Rt out Viś. N. T.
4. Inner Pradak. Viś. N. T., Lt outside Viś. N. T.—The arrow is bigger here.
5. Base of Pratāp. T.
6. Lt out Dūlādeo T; Museum.

Earrings for men

Men are also seen wearing Kuṇḍalas which are mostly the Chakra Kuṇḍalas described above.

A god's image in the museum[1] has beautiful Kuṇḍalas in his ears each of which has a different design. One has a small circle in centre with small rods jutting out at equal distances at the end of which there are small knobs. In his right ear, the god has a 'Chakra' Kuṇḍala.

Neck ornaments

The necklace and the Hāra. Nearly every figure excepting those of ascetics at Khajurāho, male or female, wears two ornaments in the neck one of which is a small necklace or a Gulubanda (neck-band) while the other is a big Hāra. The former encircles the neck only and the latter reaches up to the naval hanging down across the chest. The necklace mostly consists of two parts—a chain round the neck and small hanging pendants shaped like petals[2] and buds[3]. The buds or petals gradually increase in size towards the centre the largest one of which sometimes has a trefoil design with one, two or three chains hanging down from it at the end of which an arrow-shaped[4] a trefoil[5] or a four leafed[6] pattern made in a square piece is fixed.—Plate 4, Figs. 2, 3, 11, 16, 18, 20 and 21; Plate 5, Figs. 3, 9, and 10.

The Hāra was a simple string of beads hanging down and curving beautifully at the breasts. It consisted of single[7], double[8] triple[9] or even as many as five[10] strands according to the status of

1. Museum.
2. Inner pradak. back niche Viś. N.T. Base Pratāp. T., Museum, Inside rt niche Śānti N.T.
3. Pārvatī T., Museum, Lt out Dūlādeo T., Back inner pradak. Lak. T.
4. Inside back niche Viś. N.T.
5. Pārvatī T.
6. Museum.
7. Base of Partāp T., Museum Rt niche inside Śānti N.T.
8. Inside back niche Viś. N.T., Museum, Back inner pradak. Lak. T.
9. Museum (Vārahī goddess).
10. Pārvatī T (having square pieces).

the wearer. Sometimes beautiful square pieces were attached to it just above the breasts—Plate 4, Figs. 16 and 20; Plate 5, Fig. 4.

The rustic couple in the museum[1] however has a necklace having a plain band which broadens towards the centre and which has a groove in it. Their Hāra consists of a triple wire only. From the necklace of the woman which has a bead in centre hangs down a long wire reaching down to her naval.

Like the ladies' necklaces, the men's necklaces also were made of petal[2], bud[3], mango[4], bell[5] or square[6] shaped pieces and their Hāras were of single[7], double[8] or triple[9] strings of beads. They also were a necklace like modern Haṅsalī of the rustic people—Plate 4, Fig. 6.

Armlets

After our description of necklaces now we come to armlets. Like the ornaments described so far, armlets also seem to have formed an inseparable and essential part of jewellery for both men and women. The designs of armlets for both classes of wearers are however similar.

In the armlets for women, nine different designs have been found. The figure of a goddess in the museum[10] wears a broad plain band of gold as her armlet. It has beads on both its ends and in the centre there are two perpendicular lines of beads in between which is a big jewel studded in a circular groove and above and below this jewel two smaller jewels are studded within a triangular gold piece which juts out upwards and downwards like two arrow points—Plate 5, Fig. 1. The female image[11] to the right of the Śiva image in the Viśvanāth temple has a large and thick circular band round her arm. To this band is connected a flat triangular plate having a double line encircling the arm. The apex of the triangle falls in the centre of the arm.—Plate 4, Figs. 7 and 9; Plate 5, Fig. 7.

1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, 7, 8 and 9. Museum.

10. Museum.

11. Rt front Viś. N.T.

The broken image in the Lakshman temple[1] shows beautiful pieces of jewellery. The armlet worn by her has a plain band to which are attached leaf-shaped pieces with a jewel studded in the centre, over the leafy design there is a row of beads on which are placed circular knobs and in between these knobs two small beads are placed perpendicularly one upon the other—Plate 4, Fig. 12 ; Plate 5, Fig. 11.

The broad flat band round the arm of the image in the Viśvanāth temple[2] has four lines over it. All round the band small circular knobs are made having in the centre a big pointed arrow attached to the band which points towards the beautiful bare shoulder of the image, very much like the armlets given on Plate 4, Figs. 9 and 19 and Plate 5, Fig. 8.

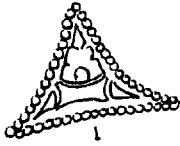
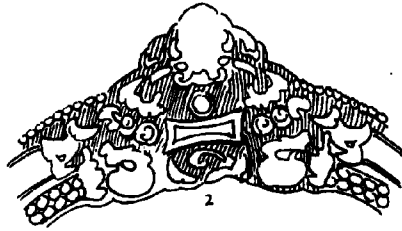
The design of the armlet of the woman[3] standing to the left of the god is very much like the one described above.[4] Here is a thick band having two lines drawn over it. Above the lines circular knobs with stalks longer than the former are placed having in centre a big bud-shaped piece pointing upwards like the former.

The armlet of the woman in the Jagadambī temple[5] has one thick line with a triangle over it. On the apex of the triangle there is studded a big jewel with smaller ones all round in a flower-shaped design—Plate 4, Fig. 5. Another woman to her left has an armlet having only circular knobs on a thick band—Plate 5, Fig. 12.

In the centre of the thick band of an armlet[6] six jewels are studded in a square in the centre of which a big jewel is put. On the upper line of the square there is a triangle of jewels—Plate 5, Fig. 2.

The armlet of the flute player[7] in the Viśvanāth temple consists of inter-twining circles over which is the thick band

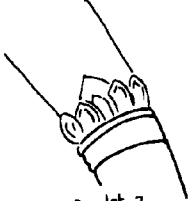
1. Back inner pradak. Lak. T.
2. Lt outside Viś. N.T.
3. Lt outside Viś. N.T.
4. Rt outside Jag. T.
5. Lt out Dūlādeo T.
6. Inner pradak (back) Viś. N.T.
7. Museum.

PLATE—V

1

2

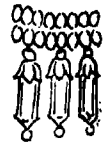
3
Hār

Hār
4

5
Payal

Earring
6

Armlet 7

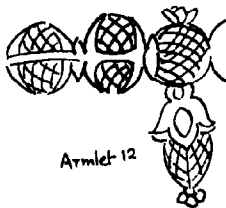
Armlet 8

9 Necklace (Hār)

Necklace 10

Armlet 11

Armlet 12

Pāyal 13

C Bartana

Kardhani
14

Kardhani 15

Gents' ornaments

having two bell-shaped pieces in centre one pointing upwards and the other downwards.

The Sadyojāta image[1] in the museum wears big armlets having a broad band and a triangle in the centre. It is studded with big jewels all over having a row of beads around it. On its lower part small bell-shaped pendants are hanging.

The armlets for men have a lesser variety of designs. The Trimūrti god[2] in the museum has a thick band having another band with two lines drawn over it for his armlet. In the centre of the band there is a design of Sruvā with a big jewel in the centre. Another image[3] in the same place has an armlet having a triangular flat plate on top. From both the sides of the apex of the triangle two perpendiculars are drawn having a semi-circle in between. Another semi-circle is drawn at the apex of the triangle.

The thick band below the armlet[4] has a four-leaved pattern drawn over it in the centre. The flat broad plate has three jewels studded between two perpendicular lines which have small knobs on top. The topmost jewel has an arrow-shaped design over it.

The lower band of this armlet[5] has a circular knob in the centre. The shape of the armlet is triangular with beads all round it and semi-circles drawn over it.

Kaṅkana

Next we may turn to Kaṅkana and bangles used by the people of the time.

The Kaṅkana of the woman[6] in the Viśvanāth temple consists of a plain triangular bar rounded up to encircle the wrist.

Another Kaṅkana[7] is formed by joining many shell-like pieces to form a ring which may go round the wrist. The third[8] has a design of circular knobs having a straight line between two of them.—Plate 4, Fig. 14.

1. 2, 3 and 4. Museum.
5. Museum.
6. Lt out Viś. N.T.
7. Rt back out Jag. T.
8. Rt out Viś. N.T.

The goddess[1] in the museum wears a pair of Kaṅkana on each wrist having a design of straight lines which grooves in between the two lines.

The woman writing on a Bhojapatra[2] or a scroll of paper in the Pārśvanāth temple wears Kaṅkanas having pointed knobs all round to decorate them—Plate 4, Fig. 15.

Another image[3] in the same temple wears a number of bangles with beaded designs all over them. On the front and back of the bangles she wears a pair of Kaṅkanas in each hand.

The image of the goddess in the museum wears Kaṅkanas on each side of her bangles. The former have two rows of beads with big knobs on top of them, while the latter are plain and beaded both.

The gods images[4] have Kaṅkanas either plain or knobbed having lines in between alternate pairs of knobs.

Hastaphūla

This ornament consists of five rings for the fingers and thumb which are either connected to the Kaṅkana directly with chains which fall on the back of the palm[5] or sometimes the chains are first connected to a circular disc with flowery designs executed in jewels and then they are attached to the Kaṅkana on the wrist—Plate 4, Fig. 13. It is strange that this piece of jewellery does not find any mention in earlier texts though it is used even to this day.

Rings

The Gomedha couple[6] in the Śānti Nāth temple wears rings on each finger. These rings are either a plain ring of gold—Plate 4, Fig. 13 or it has a rhomboid piece attached to it on the finger-side.

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1. Museum.
2. Lt inner pradak. Pārś. N.T.
3. Lt inner pradak. Pārś., Back outside Dūlādeo Ts.
4. Rt front Viś. N.T.
5. Lt outside Lak. T.
6. Inside rt corner niche Śānti N.T.

Kati Sūttra

The Kaṭi Sūttra or Karadhanī—an ornament for the waist was very common and had an elaborate design which covered the thighs down to the knee. It consisted of a waist band, three pendant chains, two hanging on the thighs and one down the backbone at the back. Over the hips fell loosely two chains one on each side connecting the pendants on the thigh with that at the back. (Plate 1, Fig. 1).

The Kaṭi Sūttras had waist bands having single or double rows[1] of beads knobs on top[2] from which hang small rhomboids on the waist or bell-shaped pendants hanging all over[3]—Plate 5, Figs. 14 and 15.

The waist bands had clasps in front having four-leaved patterns.[4]

The Kaṭi Sūttras of men also had as many varied designs as those of the ladies. Sometimes it formed a plain band[5] or a number of rows of beads put in a string.[6]—Plate 4, Fig. 4.

Pāyals

The designs of Pāyals had either small bell-shaped trinkets put together in a chain[7] (Fig. 95), Plate 5, Fig. 13 or circular trinkets like modern Ghungrū[8]—Plate 5, Fig. 5.

Toe rings

The toe rings which form the last item of jewellery do not seem to have been so commonly worn as they are in modern times. Very rarely, though, both men[8] and women are shown wearing them. These toe rings consisted of simple and plain rings worn on the first three toes[9].

It may be noted here that not a single image has been depicted with a nose ring so common these days. This helps to

1. Pārvatī T., Rt front Viś. N.T.
2. Lt out Dūlādeo T.
3. Lt out Dūlādeo T.
4. Pārvatī T.
5. Rt front Viś. N. T.
6. Museum.
7. Lt out Pārś. N. T.
8. Museum.
9. Outside Ṣānti N. T.
10. Pārvatī Temple. Inside rt corner niche Ṣānti N. T.

prove that its use spread after the Muslim invasion[1] who brought it with them from their native land.

Head ornaments and head-dresses

The head ornaments of the people at Khajurāho during the 10th and 11th centuries were also of many designs and show the aesthetic tastes of the people. Broadly speaking, these may be divided into : (*i*) those worn by ladies, and (*ii*) those worn by men. The former are known by the names[2] of Keśabandha, Dhammilla and Alakā while the latter are called[3] Kirīṭa, Jatā and Karaṇḍa mukutas, Chūdā and Pattā.

Taking up lady's head-ornaments first, we see that they were put on the head on top of the coiffure.

A woman shown to the right of the god's image in the Kaṇḍariā Mahādeva temple[4] is shown with her hair tied in a knot at the back while on her head is placed a small crown having three polygonal circlets one upon the other each diminishing in circumference so that the topmost circlet is nothing but a knob. All round the circlets there are big clasps which not only help to keep the circlets in place but also beautify the crown.

In the same temple[5], two women one on each side of a god's image are also shown wearing head gears similar to the one described above. But the female image on the left of the god has only one big polygon with a knob on it, while a very simple design of parallel lines is drawn over it. The other one's head gear looks more or less like a full-blown flower.

The image of the Garuḍa Vāhī goddess, now kept in the museum[6], is also shown wearing a head-gear with three circlets as described above.[6] But in this piece, the clasps are rectangular in shape and not rhomboid as in the former. To cover up the

1. Rise of Hindu India—C. V. Vaidya, Part II, Chap. 15, p. 323.

2, and 3. Development of Hindu Iconography—1941, J. N. Banerji, pp. 312-14.

4. Lt outside Kaṇḍ. T.

5. Lt out Kaṇḍ. T.

6. Museum.

space between two clasps, a square piece is attached to their ends diagonally by its four angles.

We get three more designs[1] of the same type of ornament which have four circlets instead of three and in which the clasps are put in a row to add to the beauty of the design. The clasps are small metal pieces put to hold the adjacent concentric circle in place. While the previous head gear was rather elliptical in shape this one[2] is circular and comparatively taller having a flowery design all over it to add to its beauty.

The second type of head gear is exactly like a crown or coronet in shape and design—Plate 2, Fig. 10. But unlike a crown, it covers only half of the forehead leaving some of the portion of the head above the ears visible, along with the hair on that part. As compared to the first type of coronet, these are only half as much in height. Six such coronets have been noticed. They generally agree in details but have some slight variations in designs and outlines. It seems that this type of ornament was worn mostly by middle-class women who were not so well off as the wearers of the former type of head ornament. This may be inferred from the fact that these women are mostly shown carrying necklace, châmarạ or flywhisk or having their palms joined in Añjali pose or painting on a board with the brush, which indicates their inferior status.

The coronet of the woman with the necklace in hands is much like a trident with its central portion jutting out much above the others on each side of it.[3] The trident design is again repeated—this time having its central part more pointed and less broad[4] while the smaller parts, one on each side, are exactly half of it in height and are diagonally connected with the central one.

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1. Rṭ front Viś. N. T.
2. Back outside Viś. N. T.
3. Lt out Dūlādeo T.
4. Rt out Viś. N. T.

Another coronet[1] has a three-leaved design in which the leaves are joined together at their lower ends to form the coronet. The central leaf is bigger in size than the rest though having the same breadth.

In the fourth coronet[2] three cylinders are joined together. The central cylinder is twice as high as those on each side of it and hence it is more prominent than the others.

Another image has a head gear of spiral design[3] while the sixth one has a beautiful flowery design.[4] It seems as if a number of flowers have been placed one upon the other to form a coronet.

Kirīta mukutas

Having taken into account the different types of ladies head gears we come to the Kirīṭa mukutas worn by goddesses. This type of mukuta covers the whole of the head, half of the forehead and reaches down to thé ears.

In one of the Kirīṭa mukutas[5], a thick band goes round the forehead while its upper part tapers down towards the end to look like an inverted tumbler. The Kirīṭa of the Sadyojāta image in the museum[6] has a base beautifully carved while the upper part is plain and simple. Another image[7] has a beautiful four-leaved pattern over it with a plain base. The jewelled Kirīta of the goddess in the Jagdambi temple[8] has a plain band for its base having a big jewel in the centre of the upper part of the Kirīta with smaller jewels studded here and there over it.

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1. Back out Dūlādeo, T.
2. Rt out front Viś. N. T.
3. Lt out Viś. N. T.
4. Lt out Viś. N.T.
5, 6, 7. Museum.
8. Rt back out Jag. T.

The Saptamātṛka panel in the museum[1] shows many designs of Kirīta mukutas and coronets both. The Kirīta of the goddess to the extreme right being broad and flat looks more or less like modern hats of men without the edge or the rim. It has a belt of human skulls all round for decoration. The other is like a long conical cap with an opening in front for the face covering up the remaining part of the head up to the ears. The third has a Kirīta with the band round the forehead which does not taper towards the end. The Kirīta of the fourth consists of a tall cap with round edges and like the former this one also does not taper. The fifth wears a short turban like a Kirīta mukuta with a curved top.

The consort[2] of Gomedha is wearing a beautiful diadem crowning her forehead. The diadem has the image of a dragon's head with two big balls for eyes and a big open mouth stretching from ear to ear, drawn over it. From within the mouth of the dragon hang three chains with round pendants which hang on the forehead. Two of these chains curve towards the two sides and have two big cones encircled with beads right above the two eyes of the goddess. The diadem covers about three-fourths of the forehead.

Men's head ornaments

The gods' images found in the temples at Khajurāho are shown wearing various types of Kirīta, Jatā and Karanda mukutas. Viṣṇu, Sūrya, Brahmā and the Kings[3]—(at one place only) are shown wearing Kirīta mukutas, Śiva wears the Jatā Mukuta and the other minor gods wear Karanda mukutas.[4] The sculptures do not show any common person putting on the mukutas. The gods' mukutas help us to draw conclusions about the tastes of the people and the skilful workmanship of the jewellers of the time.

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1. Museum.
2. Rt corner niche Śānti N.T.
3. Top frieze left Ardhamandap Lak. T.
4. Development of Hindu Iconography—1941, by J. N. Banerji, pp. 312-14.

Taking into account these head gears we find that in all there are eleven different designs of Kirīta mukutas. The Viṣṇu image in the museum[1] wears a kirīta-tumbler like in shape tapering towards the flat top which has a flowery design, having a beautiful pattern of four leaves all round.

Another Kirīta[2] has a pointed knob like top with a thick ribbon round the forehead and a square design diagonally attached to the two lines on its left and right. Another flat flowery topped Kirīta[3] has a different pattern decorating its sides. This flat topped Kirīta in the Viśvanāth temple[4] has a knob over it and has a design of two parallel lines vertically bisected by barley-shaped rods.

Again in the same temple the top of the Kirīta[5] is slightly rounded up and the mukuta has big precious stones studded all round it.

A square topped Kirīta[6] with a circular base half of which is covered with beautiful patterns with the rest left plain has also been found.

There is a thick edge all round the flat-circular top of another Kirīta.[7] Over the band round the forehead a beautiful design is carved. In Jagdambī temples[8] over the lower half of the Kirīta is drawn a beautiful trident design while its flat top is crowned with a knob.

The Sun god in the museum[9] has a Kirīta with a plain top and base having in the middle a nice pattern of crosses.

The Nāga god's[10] image in the museum wears a Kirīta much like ladies head gear in design. It has four circular discs placed one upon the other and attached to one another with a band.

1. Museum.
2. Rt front Viś. N. T.
3. Rt out Lak. T.
4. Rt out Viś N. T.
5. Back out Viś. N. T.
6. Museum.
7. Rt out Lak. T.
8. Rt back out Jag. T.
9. Museum.
10. Museum.

Having seen what the Kirīta mukuta is like, we come to the Jatā mukuta. In this mukuta the hair is tied in a big top hat-shaped knot on the head over which the mukuta is tied for decoration. The style of tying the Jatā is the same but the decorative mukuta differs in design in the following thirteen different kinds of mukutas.

In the first[1] a square is diagonally attached to two big straight lines on the right and left of it—Plate 3, Figs. 1, 2, 9 and 13. The second[2] has three or more precious stones studded in the band round the Jatā with a pendant hanging in front in the centre—Plate 3, Figs. 11 and 12. In another[3] two arched bands come from the right and left sides of the Jatā to meet the band round the forehead. The arched bands are studded with precious stones. In the next type[4] the Jatā is shown decorated with a crown or diadem having a decorative pattern of three parallel vertical lines which gradually thicken towards the centre and have knobs on top—Plate 3, Fig. 7.

The other arched Jatā mukuta[5] has perpendicular lines in-between to connect the arched band with the band round the forehead. In between the perpendiculars five precious stones are studded. The one in the centre is the biggest in size and the four smaller ones are put on four corners.

Another Jatā[6] has two slanting lines which though thick at the base gradually taper towards the top and have two knobs there. These are connected with a band of precious stones and two chains are tied at their tops. Three chains falling in equidistant arches, also decorate the mukuta.

In the Viśvanāth temple[7] the God's mukuta has hanging pendants on all sides and its arches are connected with a band having three precious stones studded in it.

1. Lt out Lak. T.
2. Rt back out Jag. T.
3. Lt out Kanḍ. T.
4. Rt front Viś. N. T.
5. Rt front Viś. N. T.
6. Rt front Kanḍ. T.
7. Rt front Viś. N. T.

Outside the Śānti Nāth temple[1], an image has a Jatā tied in such a way that it seems as if a number of Mohammedan fez caps of different sizes are put one over the other. The topmost being smallest in size. In front four precious stones are pinned to the Jatā—the biggest being at the bottom and smallest on top like the caps.

Instead of gold bends or precious stones another Jatā[2] is decorated with human skulls which give it an unwanted ferocity of expression.

The Jatā in the image on a small temple adjacent to the Lakshman temple[3] is tied in such a way that it looks very much like the small Sikh turban. Jewels are inserted here and there to beautify it - Plate 3, Fig. 10.

The Trimūrti god in the museum[4] has his Jatā tied in a semi-circular knot over his head. The diadem decorating his Jatā has parallel vertical lines connected with horizontal ones which encircle the Jatā. In between these horizontal lines or arches precious stones are studded beautifully—Plate 2, Fig. 11; Plate 3, Fig. 16.

The Pūjā scene[4] on the Śiva Sāgar lake alone depicts four different kinds of head gears. The worshippers to the right of the Liṅgam with incense pots have head gears like peaked monkey caps the two ends of which cover the ears. Men standing to the right of these have small flat caps on which have a knob in the centre. The caps of other two men do not have the knob on top but stick tightly to the head. A couple of men in the same panel have caps on like modern Gandhi caps. They only wear it in a different way having its ends towards the ears rather than the forehead. On these Gandhi caps a design having circles is drawn.

The turban worn by what appears to be a king[6], in the Kandariā temple, looks very much like the modern Marwari turban—Plate, Fig. 4.

1. Image o Śa lying outside at the entrance of Sānti N. T.
2. Museum.
3. Sm. T., Rt back of Lak. T.
4. Museum.
5. Panel on the bank of Śiva Sāgar lake.
6. Rt out Kanḍ. T. (small frieze).

CHAPTER IX

HOBBIES AND RECREATIONS

A vast number of scenes at Khajurāho depict men and women engaged in different recreations such as playing with the ball, taming birds and monkeys, painting, reading, writing letters and so on. We shall first deal with the recreational activities of women.

Animal pets

One of the most interesting and common pastimes of women at Khajurāho seems to have been taming of birds and animals.[1] Various scenes depicting women petting a bird, protecting it or merely holding it on their palms or wrists, prove how fond they were of these tiny creatures.

In a figure in the local Jardine museum[2], a woman is standing in an easy posture with her right hand resting on her thigh. On her left palm she is holding a bird and is looking affectionately at it.

A woman is shown in the Viśvanāth Temple[3], slightly reclining to her right side, and holding her Chunrī with her right hand On the back of the wrist of her left hand sits a parrot with its wings clipped off so that it may not fly away.

A small bird, perhaps a Sārikā, is sitting on the back of the palm of a woman depicted inside the Jagadambī temple[4] who is carefully trying to shield the bird from the wind or light with her right hand, which is held like a canopy over it. A bird is held in the left hand of a woman[5], who is looking fondly at it with her right hand held in the pose of offering something to the bird.

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1. Madhya Kālina Bhāratīya Saṁskriti—Hira Chand Ojha, Chap. pp. 43-44.
2. Museum.
3. Inner Pradak. Viś. N. T., Rt outside Viś. N. T.
4. Inside Jag. T.
5. Ardhamaṇdap Viś. N.T.

Another woman[1] is holding mangoes by their stalks, in her right hand while on the wrist of her left hand is sitting a parrot (Fig. 96).

Another woman[2] is shown holding the broken image of a bird in the left hand. With the thumb and one finger of her right hand she seems to have been putting something on the head of the bird.

A woman in a small temple on the base of the Lakshman temple[3] is shown holding, strangely enough, an owl in her left hand.

Another pet animal seems to have been the monkey. A woman[4] is holding a boy in her lap on the left side and supporting it with her left arm. In her right hand she holds a bunch of mangoes. Down below a small monkey is sitting at her right foot and is holding her Chunrī as if asking for mangoes.

A woman is depicted in the Viśvanāth temple[5] with a big bunch of mangoes held in her right hand. On her left wrist sits a parrot. Down below to her right is a monkey holding her right leg and looking up at the bunch of mangoes.

Ball Games

From a few scenes depicting women playing with a ball[6], it can be conjectured that ball games were also a common pastime in those days. A woman[7] is shown in a beautiful pose with her back towards the audience (Fig, 97). Her right hand has a ball held overhead to her left side. She is in the act of dropping the ball below. Similar scenes are depicted in the Jagdambī, Lakshman and Kandariā temples as well. But along with the lady a small child is usually shown there sitting below at her feet, as if ready to catch the ball.

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1. Lt outside Kanḍ. T. 2. Rt outside Vāman T.
3. Small Temple at the Rt back of Lak. T.
4. 5. Back inner Pradak. Viś. N. T.
6. Imperial Kannauj—1955, R. C. Majumdar, Chap. XII, p. 383.
7. Back of the small temple on the right front of Lak. T.

Painting

Painting[1] seems to have been one of the most favourite hobbies of women. There are many scenes depicting women engaged in this art. Painting scenes may be divided under two heads : (*i*) Painting on walls (Fresco painting) and (*ii*) Painting on a board.

With her back to the audience, a woman is shown painting on a wall.[2] She stands in a beautiful dance pose with her right hand painting overhead.

In another scene[3] a woman has her back to the audience, but her face is thrown backwards and she is looking at the wall overhead. Her hand is busy painting on the wall where the bare branches of a tree are visible which have perhaps been painted by her. In the Pārśvanāth temple[4], with the pitcher or colour-pot in the left hand a woman is shown painting on the wall over her head. Her hand is placed above somewhat to the front of her (Fig. 98).

With the painting board resting artistically on her left hand's fingers and with the brush held between the fingers of her right hand, another woman[5] is busy painting on a board (Fig. 99).

Music

A number of scenes at Khajurāho depicting women playing on musical instruments prove that the tenth and eleventh century women[6] were absolutely free to choose the particular art in which they were most interested and society put no bar on their natural inclinations.

A woman[7] is shown standing in a thoughtful mood with the flute held between the fingers of both the right and left

1. Imperial Kannauj—1955, R. C. Majumdar, Chap. XII, p. 367.
2. Outside Lt back Viś. N. T., Lt outside Kanḍ. T., Rt outside Vām. T., inner Pradak. Kanḍ. T. and inside Viś. N. T.
3. Mandap niche Vām. T. (Rt side).
4. Lt outside Parś. N. T.
5. Lt outside Viś. N. T.
6. Imperial Kannauj—1955, R. C. Majumdar, Chap. XII, p. 367.
7. Lt outside Viś. N. T.

hands—Plate 6, Fig. 9. She is facing forward and standing in an easy way with her figure slightly bending towards the right.

Another woman[1] is standing with her legs crossed. She is facing the audience and is going to put a flute, held in both the hands, to her lips to blow it and produce the enchanting notes.

In the Lakshman temple[2], a woman stands with her back to the audience and she is playing on a flute held between her two hands (Fig. 124). Another woman[3] is shown holding a flute which she is blowing with her mouth.

Besides the flute, women played on certain stringed instruments as well such as the Viṇā and Ektārā (Fig. 125)—Plate 6, Figs. 11, 13. A woman[4] has a stringed instrument in both her hands—Plate 6, Fig. 10.

In another scene in the Vāmaṇ temple[5] a woman is holding a long staff, probably an Ektārā, in both her hands.

Dance

Women are shown in numerous beautiful dance poses also. Some of the poses are so intricate and difficult to perform that they put us to surprise. A woman[6] (Fig. 100) is shown standing with her back to the audience, but she has so dextrously twisted the upper half of her body that above her waist the body is clearly facing the audience. It seems as if the upper half of the body is cut off and then attached to the back of the lower half, but the intricacy of Indian dances makes us believe in the dexterity of her dance pose.

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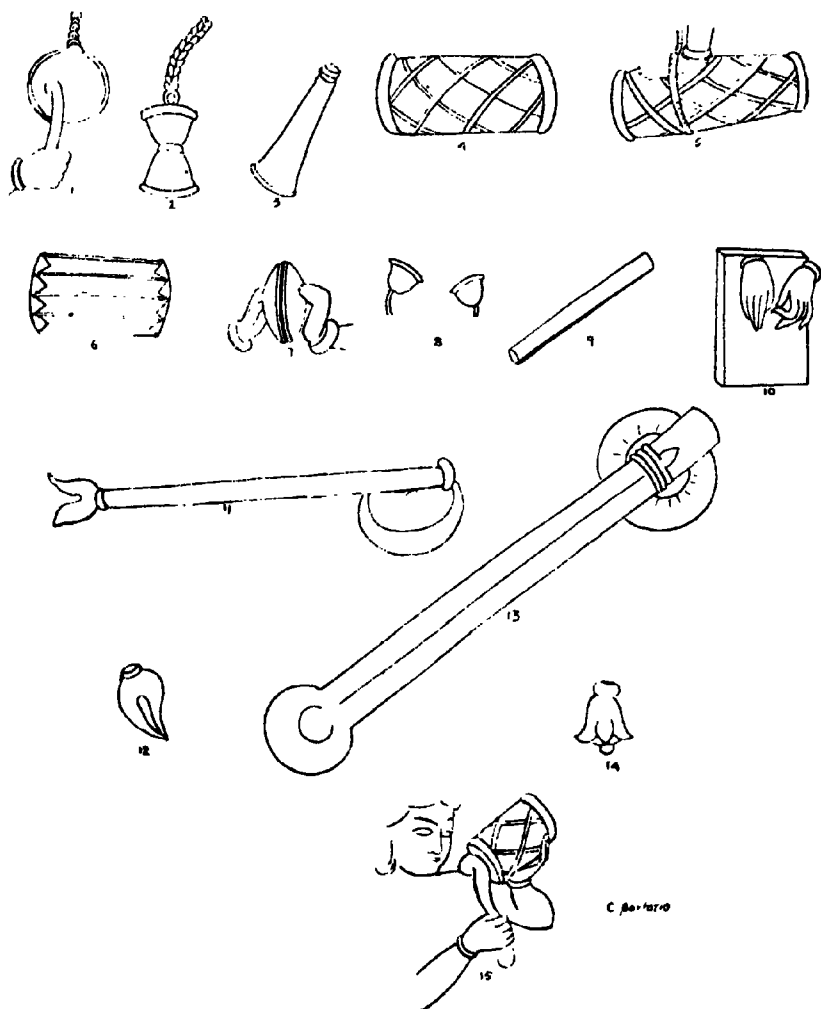
1. Rt outside. Ādi. N. T.
2. Lt outside Lak. T.
3. Inner Pradak. Viś. N. T.
4. Lt outside Lak. T., Rt back and Lt inner Pradak. Lak T., Rt pillar mandap. Lak. T., Rt outside Viś. N. T.
5. Rt outside Vāman T.
6. Sm. T. on the Lt front of Lak. T.

PLATE—VI

Musical instruments

Similarly a woman[1] is shown dancing with her back to the audience though her face is turned towards them (Fig. 101). Another woman stands in the Tribhanga pose[2] with the fingers of her hands intertwined at her back. A third[3] woman holds her folded right foot with her right hand while her face is turned above—her bent left hand's elbow also points above. Thus we can well conclude that the dance must have formed a popular hobby of the beautiful maidens of the time and was not held low in esteem as an occupation only for the professional singers better known as prostitutes these days.

Literary hobbies

Women are also depicted with book, paper or pencil which shows that due importance was given to female education.

A woman[4] with a scroll of paper is sitting face to face with a man, who seems to be explaining something to her.

A woman[5] is shown with a book as if studying with a Gurū. There is no direct evidence at Khajurāho to show that women used to be educated. But when we see them writing letters, it can safely be said that women must have been educated. Many female images are shown with scrolls of paper in their hands and in a happy or sad mood. While reading letters, quite naturally and unknowingly our faces, eyes and actions betray the contents of the letters. Here too women are depicted holding letters[6] and smiling sweetly[7], becoming thoughtful[8],

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1. Lt inner Pradak Viś. N. T., Lt & Rt out Kanḍ. T.
2. Rt out Lak. T. Lt inner Kanḍ. T.
3. Inside Mandap Viś. N. T., Rt out Ādi. N. T.
4. Lt balcony Ardhamandap Viś. N. T.
5. Rt. outside Viś. N. T.
6. Rt outside & inside Pradak. Viś. N. T., Balcony niche inside Pradak. Viś. N. T.
7. Rt outside Kanḍ. T.
8. Rt outside Pārś. N. T., Lt out Dūlādeo T.

falling into melancholy[1], hiding the tears[2], beading the eyes or gesturing[3] as if trying to follow the contents of the letters.

A woman[4] is depicted as standing with her right hand placed between her breasts and a scroll of paper in her left hand. She seems to be afraid of reading the letter and her heart seems to be beating faster as indicated by her hand between the breasts. A woman[5] is writing with the pen in right hand and a book in the left hand.

With a letter in the left hand and a pencil in the right, a woman[6] is shown writing a letter. She is in a thoughtful mood, perhaps thinking what to write. With the letter in her left hand and pencil in the right a woman[7] is bending her head to see what she is writing.

Another woman[8] is shown with a scroll of paper in the right hand and a pencil in the left, and holding the pencil at her lips while she seems to be thinking of what to write.

Women bearing arms

Various scenes of armed women at Khajurāho prove that in those days they were not so much dependent on man. Upper class women of the time could at least bear arms in self-defence or for purposes of hunting. A lady[9] is depicted with a weapon having a long rod at the end of which three pointed leaf-shaped sharp knives are attached. One woman[10] is armed with the Paraśu. Another[11] has a bow and number of arrows (Plate 8, Figs. 12, 13) kept in the quiver tied at the back of her left shoulder. The bow too is resting on her left arm while in the

1. Rt outside Viś. N. T., Lt outside Pārś. N. T., outside Ch. Bh. T., Rt outside Bharat Ch. T.
2. Rt outside Jag. T., Rt outside Vām. T.
3. Rt outside Viś. N. T., Rt outside Jag. T.
4. Inside Pārś. N. T. Rt & Lt ouside Kanḍ. & Ādi. N. & Lt outside Lak. T.
5. Inside Pārś. N. T., Lt out Lak. T.
6. Museum, Pārś. N, Rt outside Viś. N., Lt outside Lak. Ts.
7. Lt inner Pradak. Pārś. N., Outside back, Lt & Rt Vāman Ts.
8. Back outside Dūlādeo T.
9. Base of Kanḍ & Jag. Ts..
10. Rt outside Vāman T.
11. Rt outside Vāman T.

right one she holds an arrow as if ready to use it at the shortest notice.

Another woman[1] is shown holding a small knife and stands in a pose as if ready to attack Another woman[2] is holding a big sword by its handle in her left hand which is resting at her waist. Her right hand is on top of the sword. An armed man[3] and woman both are standing.

The last scene may lead us to conclude that women also sometimes accompanied men on wars or on hunts.

Recreations of men

We find many scenes depicting men playing on various musical instruments, performing gymnastics, holding wrestling matches, going for hunting and gossiping among themselves.

A beautiful scene in the Javārī temple depicts a party of men and a woman[4] playing on various musical instruments like flute, cymbals, conch shell, Vīṇā and bell (the Vīṇā is being played upon by a woman)—Plate 6, Figs. 7, 8, 9, 12, 13 and 14. Two men seem to be dancing and one man with open mouth and hand on one ear seems to be singing. The Fig. 2 on Plate 6 shows "Upang" a musical instrument also used in the Pūja scene[5].

In place of the Damarū player the harp-player and the player on clarionet—Plate 6, Fig. 3, have also joined in another party of musicians[6] depicted in the Viśvanāth temple.

In another party of three, two men and one woman[7], the latter is dancing in between the two male partners who are playing on a big drum hanging from the neck and a Turahī—Plate 6, Figs. 3, 4, 6, 15 .

The musicians[8] in the Viśvanāth temple are playing upon a big Damarū and Mṛidanga—Plate 6, Fig. 5, while

1. Lt outside Dūlādeo T.
2. Back outside Dūlādeo T.
3. Rt outside Lak. T.
4. Ardhamandap Javārī T. both Lt & Rt sides.
5. Please see Fig. 1 on page 27.
6. Rt out Viś. N. T.
7. Rt out Viś. N. T.
8. Back out Viś. N.T.

dancers are showing their skill with legs astride and hands gesturing.

Two men[1] are playing on drums (like one piece of tablā) and a woman in between is dancing. Her hands are hanging down in a sad mood.

Single men are depicted practising on the drum[2] or tablā[3], to improve upon their mastery of the art.

Some more scenes depict men dancing[4] and playing upon the Drum[5], Cymbals[6], Mṛidanga[7], Turahī[8], Harp[9], Damrū[10], Ektārā[11], Vīṇā[12], Conch shell[13], Flute[14], Karatāla[15], (Fig. 135) and Dhapalī while women join in and perform their dances—(Plate 6, Figs. 4, 6, 7, 5, 3, 10, 11, 13, 12 and 9) Drinking[16] at musical concerts was also known though it seems to have been rare.

Animal combat scenes

Scenes depicting man's command over beasts like elephants and horses show that men were fond of animal taming.

In a small frieze of the Kaṇḍariā temple[17] a man is standing behind an elephant holding something in his right hand held over the elephant's back. A small figure of a man is lying on the back of the elephant. In front of the animal is sitting a man as tall as the wild beast itself, with a lotus bud in his left hand while his right hand is resting on the left thigh. The elephant has caught hold of the right leg of this man with his

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1. Rt out Lak. T.
2. Sm. T Rt back of Lak. T. Base of Paratāpeśvara T. (The man has placed two drums crosswise and is playing on them).
3. Museum. Lt out Viś. N. T.
4. Sm. frieze inner pradak Viś. N. T., Rt inner pradak Viś. N. T., Mandap frieze on Lt Viś. N. T., Ardhamandap Lak. T.
5. Rt out Lak. T.
6. Base Pratāp. T.
7. Base Pratāp. T.
8. Lt sm. frieze Maṇḍāp Viś. N. N.
9. Sm. frieze Rt out Viś. N.T.
10. Ardhamandap Javāri T.
11. Rt out Viś. N. T.—(Flute, Ektārā & Harp—3 men).
12. Back out Dūlādeo T.
13. Lt out Pārś. N. T.
14. Sm. T. on rt back of Lak. T.
15. Lt outside Lak. T.
16. Rt out Pārś. N. T.
17. Rt outside Kanḍ. T.

trunk round the man's ankle. The man is smiling with signs of fear on his face.

In another scene[1] an elephant has stretched out his tr and placed it on the upturned face of a man. The ma holding the trunk with his right hand and his left han uplifted as if to strike at the infuriated beast.

Again in the Kaṇḍariā temple[2] two elephants with t Mahāwats on their backs are struggling with each other, t trunks being entangled. The Mahāwats are sitting erect c confident of their mastery over the beasts (Fig. 102).

In a similar scene in the Viśvanāth temple[3] two eleph are pulling each other with their trunks intertwined. On back of one of the beasts sits a man.

In another scene[4] one elephant is standing behind other pulling at the latter by its trunk held in his own.

Two elephants[5] are trying to lift a man on their trunks

Four elephants[6] are arranged in a line each showi different pose as if standing in a circus.

Two elephants[7] are fighting.

A horse[8] and an elephant are shown fighting.

Two elephants[9] are being followed by a number of men a camel. The party seems to be going for a hunt.

A man[10] and a woman holding each others hands shown balancing two pots kept one upon the other on heads.

Man and elephant

The scenes depicting man's marvellous control over huge, wild beast namely the elephant have been given above

1. Lt back outside Lak. T.
2. Rt back outside Kanḍ.
3. Lt outside Viś. N. T.
4. Lt outside Kanḍ. T.
5. Rt outside Viś. N. T.
6. Lt Pradak. Viś. N. T.
7. Back Pradak. Viś. N. T.
8. Rt outside Viś. N. T.

a few more follow here. But sometimes the brute overpowered him and man became a plaything in the grip of the wild creature.

A man[1] is goading elephants with a staff. He holds them by their ears and slaps them and goads them to proceed on.

An elephant[2] with a rider and the Mahāwat is being pulled by some men who are holding it by the trunk.

Men[3] are shown driving away their elephants.

A maddened elephant[4] is trying to kill a man. The elephant is being attacked by another man from the back who carries a spear, sword and shield.

Another elephant[5] is shown fighting a man. He has caught hold of the man's leg while the man is thrusting a spear in his forehead.

An elephant[6] is shown holding a man in his trunk by his waist, and is trying to thrust its tusk into his chest.

An elephant[7] with his rider has caught hold the legs of a man who was going ahead. A horseman is attacking the elephant from the front. The fore-legs of the horse are kept on the elephant's head. The man on foot is bending low to save himself and has put his lance before the horse so that it may not trample him and hurt him with his hoofs.

Wrestling

Wrestling was another favourable pastime of men. There are many such scenes depicted in the Viśvanāth and base of Pratāpeśvar temples, with wrestling matches being carried on in sitting and standing postures.

In one of the scenes[8] a man is holding the left leg of another man who has placed his hands on the former's chest.

1. Rt outside Lak. T.
2. Rt base of Lak. T.
3. Rt outside Viś. N. T.
4. Rt outside Lak. T.
5. Lt outside Viś. N. T.
6. Lt outside Viś. N. T.
7. Lt outside Viś. N. T.
8. Upper frieze inner Pradak. Viś. N.T.

In another[1], two men are wrestling, one of them has his mouth open as if to show that he is tired.

Two men[2] are fighting with spears one of whom has thrust his spear under the left arm of the other.

Two men[3] are fighting with the Gadā and the broad sword with double edges. Both are standing in threatening attitude to one another (Fig. 103).

A man[4] has a knife in one hand while with the other he holds another man by his beard. The latter has pierced the former's chest with the spear in his left hand.

Two men[5] are fighting with Mushtikās in their hands.

Exercise

Doing exercise also must have been a common practice of men in those days as is clear from the many weight-lifting scenes depicted in different poses.

In the Dūlādeo temple[6] a man is sitting with his knees bent and is doing exercise with heavy weights (*i.e.*, Dumbles).

In the same temple in another scene[7] a man is sitting and trying to lift a heavy weight (Fig. 104).

In the third scene[8] a man is doing exercise with his back towards the onlookers. But he has twisted the upper half of his body to face front.

Gossiping, though said to be a more common practice with women, also formed one of the pastime of men in the 10th and 11th centuries.

In some of the scenes[9] two men are sitting—one on each side of a folding table. They seem to be talking to each other as is indicated by their outstretched hands.

1. Balcony Ardhamandap Viś. N. T.
2. Rt outside Viś. N. T.
3. Base Pratāp. T.
4. Inner Pradak. Viś. N. T.
5. Base Pratāpeśvara T.
6. Back outside Dūlādeo T.
7. *Ibid.*
8. *Ibid.*
9. Rt outside Viś. N.T. Lt inner Pradak. Viś. N. T.

In a few scenes[1] two men are sitting face to face and gossiping together.

In others[2] two men are shown holding each others hands and gossiping together.

The way of talking of some men[3] suggests as if they are carrying on some serious conversation secretly among themselves.

Hunting

Besides being an important occupation, hunting also forms a good recreation and pastime. To learn aiming and wielding of weapons it formed a compulsory training for princes and soldiers. Temples at Khajurāho supply us with a number of hunting scenes.

A stone slab[4] lying in the museum at Khajurāho depicts some of the wild creatures like the boar and the wolf that were then known to the people.

The other two scenes[5, 6] are of horsemen passing through a jungle. We say "a jungle" because of the wild creatures that are shown along with the horses and in between their legs. There are deer, wolf, a boar, bull and lion etc. A boar and a hunting dog with another boar are shown once again along with four horsemen.

Among these jungle scenes may also be included a scene depicting three men[7], two of whom are armed with bows and arrows and one has an axe-like weapon resting on his right shoulder. In front of these three men are two wolves facing each other with their front paws uplifted as if resisting the men. Behind them is shown a horned deer looking back with his front legs uplifted. The deer is looking at a man who is also armed with a bow and arrow. It seems as if the deer is trying to escape for his life.

1. Inside Pradak. Pārs. N., Lt. Pradak. Viś. N.Ts., Outside Viś. N.T.
2. Lt. outside Viś. N. T.
3. Base Kanḍ. and Jag. Ts.
4. Museum.
5, 6. Backside base of Lak. T.
7. Rt outside Viś. N. T.

A beautiful Royal Hunt is depicted on the base of the Kaṇḍariā Temple[1]. The king's bodyguards are going ahead. There are two men riding on big horses holding the reins in their left hands. They are wearing high boots, but carry no arms. In between the hind and forelegs of the second horse there is a small figure of a boar and the horseman is taking a dagger from the man behind him to kill it.

So far only preparations for hunting are described, now we come to actual hunting scenes.

In the small frieze all round the Kaṇḍariā temple there is one very good scene depicting a king[2] on horse back attacking a lion with the double edged sword held in his right hand. He is holding the horse's reins in his left hand and is looking back at the lion which is trying to attack him from the back. The lion has placed his front paws on the loins of the horse (we call him a king because of his turban, his coat and his Dhotī which is hanging down below his knees. His feet also can be seen in the stirrup).

Another scene depicts a man[3] kneeling with a bow (Plate 8, Figs. 12, 13) stretched and aiming a shot at a boar in front. The boar is shown in a leaping posture, as if non-plussed, with his front legs held high up in the air. It knows not how to escape the fatal aim. The poor creature is also being attacked from behind by a man on horse back carrying a big lance in his right hand. The horse is hard by at his back with front legs folded in such a way that it seems as if in another step he will trample down the boar.

Another scene is that of a man[4] with a bow and arrow. In front is another man aiming at a boar with the bow in his left hand stretched out. The boar has his back towards this man and is attacking the hunter in front who has a big dagger in his right hand and is holding the hunting dog by his chain in the left.

1. Rt base Kanḍ. T.
2. Rt outside small frieze Kanḍ. T
3. Rt back outside Lak. T.
4. Rt outside Lak. T.

In the museum there is a big stone-slab showing a hunting party, unfortunately the stone-slab is broken and fails to convey the full meaning Here a horse's face[1] and front legs are visible (the rest being broken). Preceding the horse there is a man on foot with a broad sword in the right hand and a shield in the left. A little to the front of him there are two men with big bows in their left hands, holding in their right the rope tied to deer's necks. A little to the left of the man with the dear is another man with the arrow held in his right hand resting on his right shoulder and the bow held erect in his left hand. A majestic bull decorated with ornaments is also standing a little ahead and a man is seated beside its hind legs, with one knee folded and the other resting on the ground. He is holding the end of a big rope in hand to which a deer is tied. On the left of the bull there is a man with a fillet tied to his hair to keep them in place. He has a bow in the left hand and has just released an arrow from it which has pierced a deer's stomach through and through. The deer is about to fall on the ground. Three other deer are running helter skelter to save themselves. Two more men can be seen with bows and arrows on each side of the deer as well as the hunting dog with a chain round his neck.

Lastly we came to a scene where a boar[2] killed in the hunt, is being carried away by four men on a Bahangī pole. A similar scene is that of a man carrying a boar pinned in his sword. He has kept the sword on his right shoulder.

But even man—the proud conqueror of all the wild beasts, sometimes fell a prey to animals. We find scenes depicting a lion with a man lying in front of him and a boar, a crocodile, two horses and an elephant also are shown in the scene. In the small temple beside the Jagdambī temple a big lion is shown with his front paw on a man who is holding a shield.

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1. Museum.
2. Rt outside Kanḍ. T.

CHAPTER X

ECONOMIC LIFE

It is unfortunate that we have so little information about social and economic conditions of the Chandella Kingdom as there are few historical or literary works and monumental or epigraphical records of the Chandellas. The Epigraphia Indica and Ray Chowdhury's Dynastic history of Northern India only help us in framing the genealogical table of the Chandella kings and in learning something about the warlike achievements of some of the powerful rulers of the dynasty.

During this period, the economic organisation of society was grounded in the primary grouping of men into four different castes (Brāhmins, Kshattriyas, Vaishyas and Śūdras) based on a simple division of labour The castes now tended to subdivide themselves further into many subcastes or into new castes based and named after the occupations followed by the people[1]. Gradually the rules for maintaining the purity of the caste were also becoming rigid.

The Brāhmins were the highest caste and their duty was to teach, to study, to perform sacrifices and to give and take alms. Many professions were reserved for them and they took a leading part in the politics and governance of the country as Pradhāna mantrins[2] and even as commanders of the armies. When, with the rise of Buddhism the Vaishyas gave up farming because it involved the killing of insects, Brāhmins took to this occupation[3]. Farming and fighting, in fact, seem to have been the two occupations open to all castes and creeds[4].

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1. Dr. G. H. Ojha—Madhya Kālina Bharatiya Sanskriti, p. 40. Dr. G. S. Ghurye—Caste and Class in India 1950, Chap. IV, p. 103.

2. C. V. Vaidya—Rise of Hindu India (S 1985), Chap. XV, p. 313.

3. Ibid, p. 314.

4. Madhya Kālīna Bhārat—1951, Hira Chand Ojha, III Edition, p. 33.

The Kshattriyas were mostly kings and warriors. They were also well-educated like the Brāhmins and farming also formed one of their occupations[1].

The chief occupations of the Vaishyas were cattle-rearing, business and money lending. They also took part in political affairs and occasionally served also as warriors. In the last decades of the tenth and eleventh centuries, many subcastes developed among them also based on occupational sub-divisions.

The Śūdras were not untouchables and followed the professions of farming, building and masonry. These too had subcastes of their own according to the occupations such as washermen, cobblers, jugglers, basket makers, weavers, hunters etc.

The new caste of Kāyasthas, who served as writers in the king's offices, is also noticed in the records of the times.

The two untouchable castes were Chāndālas and Mritapas the former of whom lived by selling flesh and by hunting. The latter burnt the dead. While entering into a city, they had to strike the ground with sticks so that others may move aside and make room for them.

The castes no longer followed the ancient occupations prescribed for them but took to professions which suited them best. The intermixing among castes in the beginning and the new occupations resulted in the growth of a number of new castes which could be distinguished from the others only by difference of occupation.

An individual of the upper castes, was an inseparable member of a particular caste and was expected to live in accordance with the rules laid down by his caste and in conformity with the rules relating to the āśrams in which the span of the life of an individual was divided. In the Brahmacharyāśrama, he led the life of a student; and as a Gṛihasthin, his many acts for maintaining his family formed part and parcel of the economic life of the society of the time.

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1. C. V. Vaidya—Rise of Hindu India (S 1985), Chap. XV, p. 315.

Many of these facts comprising the economic life of the north Indian people in the 10th and 11th centuries are corroborated by the scenes sculptured in the temples of Khajurāho A visitor to these temples is apt to be struck by numerous indications of the prosperity enjoyed by the people of the time as attested to by the large number of scenes depicted in these sculptures. The total absence of scenes of beggary, robbery or such other acts suggesting dire poverty of any section of the population, may be regarded to some extent as an indication of plenty and prosperity[1] in which the people in general lived in those days. Scenes showing the use of jewellery of elegant and artistic designs by men and women which indicates their standard of living, may also be taken to suggest the same fact. The standard of living of a people is an index to the general economic condition of that country.

The sculptures at Khajurāho portray men and women in different walks of life. There are in them masons chiselling stone, labourers carrying loads, female servants carrying water to assist the mason in his work, surgeons operating on their patients, physicians feeling the pulse of ailing persons, a judge pronouncing judgment, teachers teaching their students, female artists engaged in landscape paintings, women functioning as armed guards in the houses of the rich people, all of whom have been vividly represented by the sculptors.

The builders, painters and artists unknowingly leave an imprint of the social and economic life of the people of that time in their works of art. The portrayal of domesticated animals like the horse, the bull, the buffalo, the elephant, the dog, the monkey, the cow, the camel and so on prove that there were professional cattle rearers. Birds like parrot, peacock, swan and the hawk show the presence of falconers. The elegant and beautiful designs of the jewellery worn by men, women, gods and goddesses warrant the existence of goldsmiths as an independent caste. The utensils like the serving spoon (kalachhul),

1. R. D. Banerji's Prehistoric Ancient and Hindu India—Chap. VIII, p. 240.

Kalaśa, bells, gong (Ghantā) and the mirror or the Darpaṇa help us to assert the existence of workers in metals like copper or brass. Furniture like cots, folding tables, cushioned chairs or morhas, the means of transport like carts and chariots show that there were carpenters. The implements like khurpī, sickle and plough, war weapons like sword, spear, shield and lance go to show that iron or blacksmiths also flourished. Stringed and unstringed musical instruments ; woven and sewn clothes ; the high boots put on by soldiers and the Sun god ; horse's saddles, stirrups, attendants with leather bags ; the hunting scenes and the massive construction of the temples themselves would warrant the conclusion that there must have been professional masons, farmers, hunters, grasscutters, leather workers, weavers, tailors, engineers, servants, attendants and physicians etc. in the society of the 10th and 11th centuries.

Agriculture

Then, as now, agriculture seems to have been the principal occupation of the people. Unfortunately we do not find at Khajurāho any scene depicting agricultural operations. Yet the scenes showing a small spade[1] (khurpī), sickle[2] and plough[3] go to prove that agriculture was, no doubt, the main occupation of the people and it was in an advanced stage[4].

One of the scenes shows[5] two men standing to the left and right sides of a wall. The man standing on the right side of the wall has a khurpī or small spade in his hand. – Plate 7, Fig. 11.

In another scene[6] a man is standing with folded hands and a sickle is placed behind him at his back - Plate 8, Fig. 9. His scanty dress, consisting of a short loin cloth only, helps to show that he is perhaps a farmer (Fig. 106).

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1. & 5. Small lowest frieze to the Rt inner Pradak. Kanḍ. T.
2. Museum.
3. This was observed only in the hands of god Balarāma.
4. The Age of Imperial Kannauj—R. C. Majumdar (1955), Chap. XIII, p. 399.
6. Museum.

Gardening and fruit cultivation or maintaining orchards was also practised on a large scale. The sculptures portray various kinds of trees some of which bearing fruits like mangoes, coconuts, custard apples etc. are obviously fruit-trees.

Further evidence is supplied by the inscription providing for the upkeep of the Jain temple of Pārśvanāth for which a man named Pāhilla made a munificent gift of gardens or Vātikās for the maintenance of the temple. It further points to the practice of horticulture and gardening. The names of the Vātikās were[1] Pāhilla garden, Chandra garden, small Chandra garden, S'aṁkara garden, Pañchaitāla garden, Mango garden and the Dhaṅga garden.

Different kinds of flowers are also shown, the most common of them all being the Lotus and Nilotpala flowers.

Grass-cutters

The portrayal of domesticated animals like the horse, the bull, the goat and the cow would warrant the conclusion that there must have been professional grass-cutters for the supply of fodder for them. This conclusion is further reinforced by the presence of figures with the sickle and the small spade which are grass-cutting implements.

Portrayal of domesticated animals like the horse, the bull, the buffalo, the elephant, the dog, the monkey, the goat, the ram, the deer, the camel and the ass shows that cattle rearing and taming animals also formed one of the occupations of the people.

Birds like parrot, peacock, swan, kite and owl in the hands of ladies and as Vāhanas of gods show that tamers of birds lived by these professions. Thus falconery seems to have been an established profession.

Hunting

The Aryans, of old, used to take both vegetarian and non-vegetarian food. With the rise of Buddhism and Jainism,

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1. The door jamb of Pārśvanāth Temple.

though, more stress was laid on non-violence yet gradually by the 10th and 11th centuries non-vegetarian food was again taken to by many of the castes. Thus, hunting must have formed the occupation of a section of lower caste people, and to illustrate this many hunting scenes are depicted in the small friezes outside the temples[1].

Metal workers

The use of elegant jewellery, domestic utensils like **Kalaśa**, Kalachul (serving spoon), mirror etc., war weapons and stirrups, proves that there were efficient workers in metals to supply the people with the articles they needed. The workers in metal were goldsmiths, coppersmiths and blacksmiths.

Goldsmiths

The 10th century goldsmiths seem to have been really well-versed in their art[2]. All the images human or divine, that are found at Khajurāho are depicted as putting on plenty of jewellery on the head, neck, ears, arms, wrists, fingers, waist, ankles and toes.

The beautiful designs of jewellery for the different parts of the body show how expert the jewellers or goldsmiths were in their art. The head ornaments inlaid with gems, the kundalas of many designs, the Hāra, gulūband or necklaces of pearls, gold beads or set in with precious stones all depict the height of perfection reached by the Hiraṇyakāras or goldsmiths of the time.

Beadsman

We must not here forget, the poor, beadsman who carefully and artistically put every single bead in a string to make the necklace thereof.

Coppersmith

Coppersmiths made utensils like Kalaśa and Kalachul (serving spoon), bells and Ghaṇṭā or the metal plates rung at

1. For description of the scenes see Chapter on Hunting.
2. The Age of Imperial Kannauj (1955)—R. C. Majumdar, Chap. XII, p. 401.

religious occasions—Plate 6, Figs. 1, 2, 7 and 8, Plate 7, Figs. 1, 2, 3, 4, 5 and 6. The highest achievement of the coppersmith's art is manifested in the Darpaṇa or the metallic mirror which showed a true reflexion without distorting the facial cut.

Blacksmith

Weapons of war such as swords (Plate 8, Figs. 1, 3, 5, 7 and 10), daggers, battle-axes, javelins (Plate 8, Fig. 11), arrow heads (Plate 8, Fig. 12), shields (Plate 8, Figs. 2 and 6) and armours as well as stirrups and buckles used in the horse's saddles were made by blacksmiths. Besides these sickles and small spades were also made by them.

Weavers

Excepting a few, practically all the images both male and female are depicted with clothes on. The men's Dhotī and the lady's Sārī both are of so fine a texture that they seem to be transparent. Some of the female images like the consort of Gomedha[1], seated with an infant on her laps, are shown putting on printed or embroidered Sārīs. All this proves the proficiency of the weavers in their occupation.[2] Silken or woollen garments too might have been used.[3]

Tailors

As both men and women appear to be wearing stitched dresses, it helps us to conclude that there must have been professional tailors earning their livelihood by this art.

Many designs of male and female headgear are found. These are of different shapes and styles—some are like a crown, some have a triple design and some are like a turban. These too must have been manufactured either by the tailors themselves or by another class of men known probably as makers of head gears.

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1. Rt niche inside Śānti N. T.

2, 3. The Age of Imperial Kannauj—R. C. Majumdar, Chap. XIII. p. 400.

Barbers

Sculptures at Khajurāho show various hair styles of men. In the sculptures men are mostly shown with their hair tied into a knot at the back of the neck. There are men with bobbed hair tied with a ribbon to keep them in place and also with the hair close-cropped as in our times to-day. Besides this, men clean shaven, with goatee sometimes having a knot and whiskers or with flowing moustaches—Plate 3, Figs. 14, 16, 10, 11, 4, 5, 17 and 8,—are also depicted and all these prove that there used to be professional barbers to shave men according to the modes and styles popular in those days.

Potters

Scenes depicting pitchers prove that the potter's art was also practised and there were professional potters to make them—Plate 7, Fig. 1.

Rope makers

The carved pieces of stone[1] being carried on Bahangī poles by four or six men and wild animals[2] tied with ropes prove that rope makers also flourished and had good markets for their ropes.

Leather workers

Some of the soldiers, the Sun god and a few other images are shown with high boots on—Plate 7, Fig. 16; the horses are saddled; the surgeons and attendants carry bags (Plate 7, Fig. 8) and these make us conclude that there used to be leather workers to produce these articles of common use. The surgeon's bag is enough to show the proficiency and skill of the leather workers. It is a bag[3] of quite a modern design with a long strap with which to hang it on the shoulder and a button to keep the lid in place.

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1. Bh. Ch. T., Museum, Viś. N. T.
2. Museum.
3. Back inner pradak. Lak. T.

PLATE—VII

Furniture, etc.

Carpenters

The presence of furniture in some of the scenes like cots (Plate 7, Fig. 14), tables (Plate 7, Fig. 10), cushioned seats (Plate 7, Figs. 9 and 12) (morhas), painting board (Plate 7, Fig. 13 wooden slippers (Plate 7, Fig. 7), as well as, the representation of chariots or carts are evidences of the carpenter's profession. Once it is proved that the class of carpenters existed, it is easy to conjecture that they must also have helped in the construction of buildings and furnishing them with wooden doors and beams although no buildings are shown in the scenes.

Sculptors

The mason's job must have been an important one. The massive and elaborate designs so artistically executed even in the hardest stone like granite (Chausath Joginī) bear testimony to his efficiency. Huge pieces of stone cut in various flowery designs ; the massive circular or octagonal pilasters supporting the roof ; the topmost part of the shrines cut and shaped like a Chakra, are some of the striking examples of the stone-cutter's and chiseller's art. While there is no scarcity of beautiful images, rather there are hundreds of them in one temple alone, the proportions of their bodies, facial cut and various expressions on the face—those of anger, love, disgust and parental affection show what degree of perfection the sculptor's art achieved at Khajurāho. The minutest details *e.g.*, smiling lips, flaming eyes, are chiselled out in a meticulous manner by the Khajurāho sculptors. The mason has breathed life in the stone even while carving animal figures—the huge Nandī Bull, the Varāha and the elephant and lion are a few of the many examples of stone images which could be mistaken for real ones but for their surroundings. A modern painter would find it difficult to control his brush to the extent to which the tenth century mason had controlled his chisel.

Great care has been taken as to the formation of even tiny figures carved in the small friezes all round the inner and outer Pradakshiṇā. And it is nothing short of a miracle, the way in

which they have made the stone images life-like and highly realistic.

A small slab of stone depicts[1] a stone cutter cutting stone with his chisel set on a stone and held in his left hand, while the right hand has a hammer uplifted to strike at it with all his might which is mirrored, so to say, in the muscles of the arm. Close by stands a woman with an earthen pot as if ready to pour water.

Labourers

Big pieces of stone tied tightly to the Bahangī pole with ropes are being carried by two[2] to four[3] and even six men[4] (Fig. 107), prove that there used to be a labour class (known as Bandhānī) as well, for doing the rough and tough works of the society.

Engineers

The massive structures constructed with huge blocks of stone prove that there were expert engineers to design and execute such pieces of art.

> "The architect, Sthāpati[5], is the foremost of the craftsmen (Śilpin), of whom there are four classes, Sthāpati, Sūtragrāhin, Takṣaka and Vārdhakin, the designing architect, surveyor, sculptor and builder-plasterer-painter. These craftsmen carry out the instructions of the Sthāpaka, the architect-priest, who has the qualification of an Āchārya."[6]

Physicians and Surgeons

Surgery seems to have been practised in those days. There are four scenes depicting surgical practices of the time.

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1. Museum.
2. Lt outside Bh. Ch. T and Viś. N. T.
3. Lt outside Dūlādeo T.
4. Museum.
5. Sthāpati in Āpastamba Śranta Sūtra XXII.
6. The Hindu Temple by Stella Kramrisch, Vol. I, p. 9.

The first one[1] shows a doctor or a vaidya feeling the pulse of a man who is sitting with a sickly look on his face.

Another image[2] depicts a woman standing with her right leg folded. She is pointing to something in the sole of her foot to the small figure of a surgeon standing with a bag hanging from his shoulder. The woman's left hand is on the surgeon's head (Fig. 108).

Again a woman is pointing[3] to the sole of her foot as given in the above scene. Only the surgeon here has a long beard.

The surgeon or attendant in another scene[4] here stands below with the bag while the lady is carrying on the operation herself. She seems to be extracting a thorn.

Government servants

Government service too provided means of livelihood to a section of people who had the necessary qualifications for it. Government services had different grades too. Kings are shown with personal bodyguards, military men and civil officials as depicted in the judgement scene. Besides these there are others too – the standard bearers, Chaurī holders, watchmen, elephant drivers, charioteers, grooms and other demestic servants.

Servants and attendants

There are both male and female attendants depicted along with a few images which must have represented the richer class of people.

Charioteers and Drivers

As chariots were one of the means of communication (Fig. 109) like elephants, the charioteers and drivers too must have formed a separate profession.

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1. Rt balcony of Ardhamandap Viś. N. T.
2. Small temple at the back of Viś N. T.
3. Left back of Lak. T.
4. Rt outside Pārś. N. T.

Trade and money

Gold, silver and copper coins of the Chandella kings have been found in this part of the country[1] but there is no reference to them in the scenes depicted here perhaps because most of the transaction was done by barter.[2]

Means of transport

There are a few scenes portraying the means of transport. Horses, elephants, bullock carts, camels, chariots and Bahangi poles were commonly used for the same. Horses and chariots it seems were used for quick movements from one place to the other. Elephants might have been used for carrying heavy loads and for fighting. Camels must have served as the easy mode of transport for the nomadic people. Bullock carts were perhaps used by the poorer people for carrying their goods from place to place and hence must have been the most common mode of transport, yet only once a god[3] has been shown holding a double wheeled cart in his hands.

Men are shown carrying big stone pieces on Bahangī poles. The number of men varies according to the weight of the stone. The slab of stone kept in the museum shows three men on each side of the stone slab which is tied to the pole with a rope. While in the Bharat Chitragupta temple only two men carry the pole. This scene very clearly shows how with the help of small bamboo poles they used to keep the big pole with the weight tied to it on their shoulders. The big pole was made to rest on the smaller ones till it could be kept on the men's shoulders. Boats[4] too must have been quite common though nowhere have they been depicted.

1. Archaeological Survey Reports.—Cunningham, Vol. X, p. 25.
2. Rise of Hindu India (Samvat 1985)—C. V. Vaidya, Chap. XVII-A, p. 367.
3. Back inner Pradak. Lak. T.
4. Boats have been shown in the Jagannātha temple of Purī of the 10th century A. D.

Celestial vehicles

While men walked on the earth, gods went from one place to the other through air. The flying horses, the Garuḍas and the Vidyādharas signify the celestial means of communication. For going on earth gods had their Vāhanas such as Śiva's Bull, Indra's Elephant, Agni's Ram and so forth.[1]

Food and Drink

Domesticated animals like bull and cow show that milk must have been used as a beverage. Though no scenes depicting cows being milked are shown nor is there any scene showing wheat, grains or pulses etc. or farming, yet there is no room left for doubt that agriculture was the main occupation of the time.[2] The history of the time supports the fact that India was prosperous in agriculture and was flooded with milk and butter.

Hunting scenes[3] would seem to support the view that animals were killed not for their skins only but also for their meat because the most common animals of the hunt were the deer and the boar whose flesh is relished.[4] Again the hunters are shown carrying the entire body of their hunt. Had they been using their skins only they would have skinned the animal rather than carried the whole of it.

A scene[5] depicting a rat eating laddoos from a bowl shows that there were various kinds of sweetmeats. In support of this we can also see Gaṇeśa eating Laddoos from a bowl.

Coming to fruits now, we see, that gods and goddesses along with their attendants are often shown with a fruit on their

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1. For details see Chapter on "Religion and Modes of Worship."

2. Age of Imperial Kannauj—1959, R. C. Majumdar, Vol. IV, Chap. XIII, p. 399.

3. Ibid, Chap. XII, p. 387.

4. Ibid, Chap. XII, p. 388.

5. Museum.

palms which may be identified with the coconut or the mustard apple. Ladies are often shown carrying a bunch of three or five mangoes. A mango tree is also shown with a woman standing under it.

Practically every temple depicts ascetics or country folk drinking from bowls. These scenes seem to show that the drinks used were intoxicating beverages.

Four[1] ascetics are seated, three facing front and one facing towards his left side. At the extreme end stands a man bending on one side as if trying to pour from a pot full of some drink[2]. Each ascetic has a bowl in hand. The first and second ascetics are anxiously looking at the cups held in their right hands. The first one is asking for more drink The third one seems to have been overdrunk as is indicated by his abnormal way of asking for more wine. He has turned his back towards the man with the pot and is holding his bowl in his right hand outstretched at his back in an unnatural and ridiculous pose. The fourth one is looking angrily at the third ascetic.[3]

Animals

Besides the domestic animals or beasts of burden already mentioned some wild animals too are depicted such as the lion, boar deer, antelopes, wild goats and wolves. These animals are depicted in jungle where hunting parties are shown[4].

Cities, towns and villages

No direct depiction has been made of cities, towns and villages of the period. The presence of cities and towns may be conjectured from royal scenes depicting the king and queen going along with their cortege. Hence it would not be improper to assume here the presence of prosperous villages and cities in the Chandella period of Indian History.

1. Lt outside Viś. N. T.

2. The Age of Imperial Kannauj 1955—R. C. Majumdar, Chap XII, p. 387.

3. For more drinking scenes see Chapter on "Different Engagements and Recreations of Woman".

4. For further details see Chapter on "Hunting".

Buildings

The palace scenes depicted in the Chaturbhuja and Viśvanāth temples prove that besides poor men's huts of which no mention has been made, but whose presence may be safely assumed, there were big palaces[1] too with roomy balconies to accommodate a number of men fond of gossiping and chatting. The temples themselves bear eloquent testimony to the existence of beautiful buildings elaborately constructed to beautify the bosom of the earth.

1. Given in the Inscription of 1058 V. S. which states a picturesque view of a city in the 11th century. "Crowded with lofty rows of palaces in which tall horses were curvetting..."

CHAPTER XI

SCENES RELATING TO WAR AND POLITICAL LIFE

We have practically no material in the scenes depicted in the temples at Khajurāho to illustrate the political conditions of the 10th and 11th centuries. Although there are many battle scenes or scenes showing the march of an army, yet no pictures of courts and kings have been found except in two places, *viz.*, on[1] the right outside of the Kandariā Temple and in the Ardhamandap of the Lakshman temple. In the former the king, on horseback, is shown attacking a lion with his sword. Here too the only distinguishing feature to identify the principal figure as a king is his dress which is a long sleeved coat, a turban and a Dhotī (Fig. 110). Similarly, no images of any courtiers can be detected in these sculptures. The so called 'palace scenes'[2] also occur only twice or thrice depicting three or four people talking or consulating each other on some matter.

Judgement Scenes

A singular judgement scene found at the back of an adjacent small temple behind the Lakshman temple shows that criminals were duly punished for their misdeeds and that justice had its own importance in politics.

A bearded man[3] is seated on a cushion with a pencil in hand. This man seems to be a judge[4] as there are two female attendants standing behind him, one of whom holds a canopy or chhattra. On the opposite side of these female attendants stand two male figures as well. Right in front of the judge stands a man holding in one hand the rope which is tied to his waist while his second hand is held in a pose which seems to be explain-

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1. Rt outside Kanḍ. T. (small frieze).
2. Rt out Ch. Bh. T., Lt out Viś N. T.
3. Back of the small T. on the rt back of Lak. T.
4. He is not crowned like a king nor does he wear jewellery hence I have called him a judge.

ing and justifying his conduct. On the rope tied to the man's waist a small bag is hanging. Behind the captive stands another man, perhaps the captor holding the prisoner by the elbow, and a rod with iron clasps hanging from it.

Army and its equipment

Various scenes depicting soldiers on foot or on horse back or even on the back of elephants prove that the four important parts of the army were elephant, horse, camel and foot soldiers. Camels were mostly used as beasts of burden. Chariots are conspicuous by their absence and it is rather strange that they have not been shown here. It seems to be likely that they had fallen into disuse by this time.[1]

The dress of soldiers consisted of only tight fitting kinckers reaching a little above the knee.

The weapons used were lances, broad double-edged swords, ordinary single edged swords, daggers or scimitars, shields, the Gadā and the bow and arrow.

Martial music played an important part in wars as in modern times. We read of the Chāraṇa and Bhāta of old times but in the Rājput period there were war bands to encourage the fighting soldiers.

A war band is seen in one panel[2] proceeding along with an elephant.

In another[3], armed men are seen going ahead of an elephant. Behind them are dancers and musicians with the war band and after them comes the royal elephant. The elephant is guarded by a man on horse back.

Consultations of army leaders

Only a few scenes found in the temples show that certain consultations were carried on, before war was formally opened between two armies. The two leaders of the armies met and

1. Rise of Hindu India—Part II, S 1986,—C. V. Vaidya, Chap. XVII. B, p. 370.
2. Small frieze Rt Pradak. Viś. N. T. and Rt outside Viś. N. T.
3. Lt ArdhamandapLak. T.

tried to arrive at some decision. This seems to be their last attempt to avoid war.

In Fig. 111[1] two horses are depicted on each end of the panel with their riders on their backs each facing the other. In front of the horsemen are three men armed with sword, shield and lance. Then there is one elephant on each side facing the one standing opposite to the former. After the elephants are shown five armed guards on each side, armed with lances, gadā, swords and shields. In the centre are seated two kings on cushions. They are consulting each other and are wearing crowns or Kirīta mukutas[2]. One of them seems to be explaining something to the other. His hand is held in a pose as if to say "Do you understand?" The other has kept his hand on his chest as if to explain his own point of view.

A commander[3] of an army having a long beard and a small sword in hand is seated on an easy chair and seems to be instructing his soldiers who are standing in front of him. An elephant is also shown in the scene.

Battle Scenes

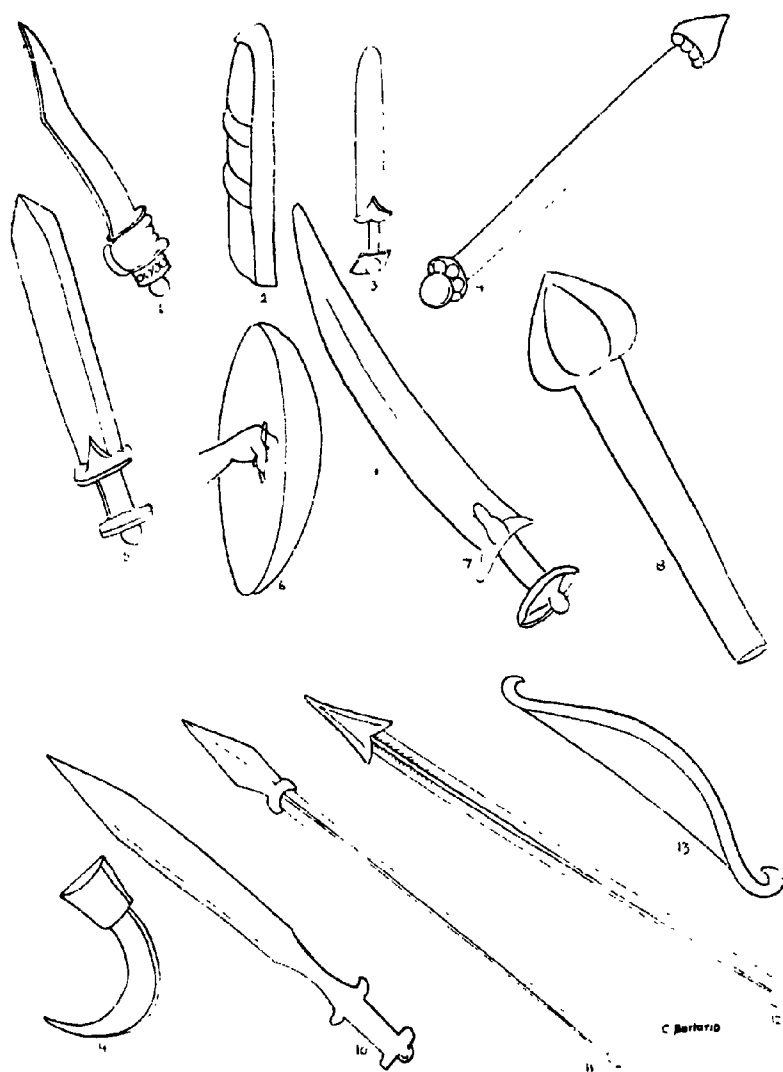
The small friezes all round the inner and outer Pradakshiṇā of the temples contain many scenes depicting armies on the march or actual battle scenes.

An army[4] is marching on. The soldiers are equipped with swords and shields.

This army[5] on the march has a cavalry, Fig. 112 and war elephants with their riders.

Soldiers[6] on horse back or elephant back as well as on foot are going ahead preceded by a war band.

1. Small frieze Ardhamandap Lak. T.
2. Development of Hindu Iconography—1941, J. N. Banerji—"The Chakravartī Mahārājās wore Kirīta Mukuta" – pp. 312-14.
3. Back Lt outside Viś. N. T.
4. Rt and Lt inner Pradakshina Viś N. T.
5. Rt outside Viś. N. T. and small frieze Rt Pradak. Viś. N. T.
6. Base, rt of Lak. T., Lt Pradak. Viś. N. T., Ardhamandap Lak. T., base Lak. T., Lt outside Dūlādeo T.

PLATE—VIII

War Weapons

Two armies[1] standing face to face are also fighting.

This man[2] has a broad sword in his right hand and his left hand is resting on his thigh. He seems to be ready to fight.

Another soldier[3] is shown carrying a mushtikā on his shoulder.

In another place a soldier[4] is shown armed cap-a-pie with a broad and a narrow sword (Plate 8, Figs. 1, 3, 5, 7 and 10), spear (Plate 8, Fig. 11), gadā (Plate 8, Figs. 4 and 8), dagger, Paraśu, a big rod or a staff and two shields (Plate 8, Figs. 2 and 6) one is circular and the other rectangular.

A man[5] is seated with two persons behind him and three in front of him. One of the men seated in front is attacking him with a staff.

Soldiers[6] engaged in fight are attacking the enemies at the throat, arm, thigh and back. This seems to be a variation from the traditional Rājput canons of war which prohibited attacking a flying foe.

Two[7] armies are engaged in a hand to hand fight. A procession of horses and elephants with a war band can also be seen.

This scene[8] shows a cavalier sitting erect on horse back with the reins in this left hand and a long spear in the right.

Four soldiers[9] each armed with a round shield and a sword are going ahead with a horseman following them. Behind the horseman there are three more men, followed in their turn by a rider on horse. The second rider is also followed by two armed soldiers, each carrying sword, shield and lance.

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1. Lt outside Kanḍ and Bh. Ch. Ts., Rt outside Viś. N. T.
2. Lt inner Pradak. Viś. N. T.
3. Lt inner Pradak. Viś. N. T.
4. Small frieze Lt outside Viś. N. T.
5. Base Lak. T.
6. Base of Lak. T.
7. Lt outside Kanḍ. T.
8. Rt front, base of Lak T.
9. Lt front base of Lak. T.

Another horseman[1] (Fig. 113) is shown as being followed by a man carrying something in a big bag on his right shoulder. A small short statured man is carrying a chhattra—Plate 7, Fig.15. Another horseman who holds the reins of his horse in his left hand, is trying to catch hold of a small dagger offered to him by his immediate follower on foot. One more armed man is carrying a big sword and a shield. Behind this troop of men is an elephant with the Mahāvat. A howdāh is kept on its back while a man sitting behind the howdāh seems to be guarding its precious contents.

Actual fighting scenes

Considering scenes of actual fight, we also find some panels where one army is shown attacking another.

In one place[2], an army seems to have pierced deep into the forces of the other. An elephant is pulling a footman by the leg held in his trunk. The man is aiming at the beast with his spear. A horseman and a man with a big lance are behind the elephant. The man with the lance is trying to kill the Mahāvat of the elephant standing at this back. This elephant is facing another elephant and the two together are trying to tear off a man's body. One elephant holds the man's right arm in his mouth and the other has his leg in its trunk. Behind the second elephant a horseman is seen riding forward.

A huge elephant[3] stands with the front legs high above in the air and the hind ones slightly kneeling. The Mahāvat seems to be holding his seat with great difficulty. In front stands a horse with the rider on its back. Both are in a defiant attitude. At the back of the horse two men are engaged in dealing blows to one another with long staffs in their hands. A horseman and an elephant with its rider are at their backs.

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1. Rt front base of Kanḍ. T.
2. Rt outside Dūlādeo T.
3. Rt front base of Lak. T.

Five[1] foot-soldiers are deeply engaged in fighting. Two men have kept their right and left legs on the back of a dead soldier and their other two legs are firmly planted on the ground. They are busy fighting—one is striking at the left shoulder of the other with a broad sword. A man with his back turned at the fighting couple seems to be engaged in looking at another pair of fighters in front of him. The legs of this pair are also placed on a corpse and they are engaged in fighting with broad broken swords. The foot of the man looking at this pair is placed on a skull.

A retreating[2] cavalry troop is being charged by the victors. The former is unarmed while the latter carries a lance. A brave soldier of the defeated army has jumped over the back of the horse in front and is trying to kill its rider with a big sword drawn to strike at the back of the rider. The brave soldier has placed one of his legs on the uplifted leg of a horse behind whom comes a soldier armed with sword and shield. A horseman carrying a lance is also following the soldier on foot.

Women in arms

In Rājput history instances are not lacking where women have wielded weapons against their enemies. Even the scenes sculptured in the temples at Khajurāho support the fact by depicting women taking active part in wars.

This woman[3] is holding an armed soldier, perhaps they accompanied men on wars.

An armed man[4] is accompanied by an armed woman.

A woman[5] is holding a big sword in her left arm held near her waist. Her right hand is placed on top of the sword.

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1. Rt front base of Lak. T.
2. Back base of Lak. T.
3. Rt outside Viś. N. T.
4. Rt outside Dūlādeo T. and Lak. T.
5. Back outside Dūlādeo T.

CHAPTER XII

KHAJURĀHO ART AND ARCHITECTURE—GENERAL CONCLUSIONS

General features of Khajurāho Architecture

"The culmination of the Indo-Aryan genius in architecture was attained in the extraordinary group of temples erected at Khajurāho in central India"[1]. The temples stand tall and magnificent rising gradually like mountains on the surface of this earth. They are mostly built of sandstone but a few like the Brahmā and the Chausath Joginī are built of a mixture of sandstone and grānite or completely of the latter. The temples are dedicated to Viṣṇu, Śiva, Sūrya or Jain divinities but there is no difference in the architectural style of any of them, and it is not possible to make out any sectarian differences in the architecture of the period.

The enormous appeal of the temples at Khajurāho lies in the beauty of their proportions and contours and the liveliness of the ornamental images all over the temples[2]. The peculiar refinement of Khajurāho architecture is found in the turrets or uriśingas which rise gradually at successive levels clinging to the main Śikhara and thus the double or triple surfaces of these give the "effect of eyes travelling from lesser ranges to the summit of a distant mountain".[3] The Śikharas of the temples, surrounded by smaller towers or uriśingas, seem to be a "rising crescendo of curves" which finally lead to the crowning piece—the āmalaka.

The temples are likened to the mythical mountain "Meru" which stands like a pillar separating heaven and earth ; or to the body of the Puruṣa—the Universal Man. The crowning Āmalaka

1. & 3. Benjamin Rowland's "Art and Architecture of India"—Buddhist Hindu Jain. Part V. Chap. XVII, p. 173. and p. 174 respectivley.

2. Indian Architecture—(Buddhist and Hindu)—1942, Percy Brown, Chap. XXII, p. 134.

is compared to a lotus or a "Solar halo with rays"[1] signifying the way to heaven, the summit of the mountain Meru or the skull-dome of the Universal Man. Thus the worshipper is being led "upwards to the centre of the magic union with the divine".

Like the Śikhara the shrine itself is reached after crossing the successive levels of the base, the ardhamaṅdap, the mahāmandap and the antarāla, which are lighted by oriel windows.

All round the inner and outer pradakshiṇā lovely maidens with beautiful faces and figures are depicted in dance poses trying to capture the mind of the worshippers in this heavenly place on earth just as 'apsarās' dance in the heavens above to please gods.

Constructional details

The Khajurāho temples belong to the Nāgara[2] or Indo-Aryan style[3] of construction which have eight constituent parts in their elevation, namely the Mūla (root or terrace), Masūraka (the socle), Janghā (the wall), Kapota (the cornice), Śikhara (the tower), Gala (the neck), Āmalasārak (the circular top) and the Kumbha with its Śūla or finial

The Lakshman, the Kandariā and the Viśvanāth temples are Panchāyatan temples which stand on platforms about six feet high and which are ascended by steps[4]. These platforms also serve the purpose of the outer pradakshiṇā of the temples. The shrines can be entered into after ascending a number of stairs which lead to the Ardhamaṅdap through the gateway of which one passes to the Mandap and thence to the Antarāla leading to the sanctum or Garbhāgāra. The gateways of the Ardhamaṅdap are decorated with beautiful Toraṇas "which appear like ivory carving"[5]; those of the Maṅdap have male or female images in devotional attitude or with offerings in their

1. Rowland's "Art & Architecture of India"—Buddhist Hindu Jain, Part V, Chap XVII, p. 174.
2. Stella Kramrisch—The Hindu Temple, Vol. II (1946), p. 290.
3. Percy Brown, Chap. XXII, p. 133.
4. Ibid., Chap. XXII, p. 135.
5. Ibid., p. 135.

hands. On the upper lintel of the sanctum gate, the central image of the god placed in the sanctum is depicted while on the two ends are the remaining two gods of the Hindu Trinity *e.g.* if Śiva is in the centre, Brahmā and Viṣṇu are on both ends and vice versa.

The many-headed and many-handed Hindu icons of these gods depicted there show that Hindu iconography had undergone a revolutionary change in or before the period of constuction of these temples. It is worthy of note that the gateways of the Jain temples do not have the images of the Hindu Trinity on the top. On the two sides of these gates are either incarnations of the enshrined god or male and female attendants with offerings or musical bands. Images of Gangā and Yamunā are also found in some cases as well as Mithuna couples.

The Ardhamaṅdaps are lighted by oriel windows on both sides. The pillared[1] square platforms approached by crossing the Ardhamaṅdaps, and better known as Maṅdaps or Vedikās also have windows on both sides to let in air and light[2]. In front of the Maṅdap a few paces ahead is the Garbhagṛha or the sanctum round which there is the pradakshiṇā passage full of images sculptured in three successive rows in the Kandariā, the Lakshman, the Viśvanāth and the Pārśvanāth temples. All these Sāndhara[3] prasādas have a pradakshiṇā well lighted by big oriel windows excepting the Pārśvanāth temple which has two sanctums one facing the north and the other the south and its pradakshiṇā too is so dark that even in daytime, bats hide there to avoid the light of the sun. The Pārśvanāth temple alone has three latticed windows to let in air and a little bit of light.

Some of the temples like the Bharat Chitragupta, the Jagadambī, the Vāman, the Javārī, the Dūlādeo, the Chaturbhuja and the Ādinath have no inner pradakshinā and hence are known as the Nirandhāra[4] prāsādas. In the sanctum of the

1. "The capital of the pillars are so overlaid with sculptures that their brackets are obscured" Percy Brown—Chap. XXII, p. 135.

2. Percy Brown—Chap. XXII, p. 134.

3. 4. Stella Kramrisch—The Hindu Temple (1946), Vol. II, p. 365, 369,

temples dedicated to Śiva, the Liṅga is placed in the centre of the Grabhāgāra just below the middle of the Grīvā[1].

"The recessed ceilings[2] of some of the temples are singularly beautiful and most ingeniously varied (Figs. 114, 115 and 116). The transept between the four pillars has a large circle with eight small richly cusped circles rising above it each with its bold pendant drop from the centre. The top is closed by another elaborately carved circle from which there again hangs the pendant drop. The ceilings too are made of different geometrical designs such as the four cusped squares placed diagonally and closed by a similar square at the top, each square having a rich pendant hanging from its centre in the Kandaria temple". The richness of the carving is further enhanced by the profusion of sculptures which have been inserted most liberally wherever a resting place could be found.

Just as the inner walls of the temples are decorated with beautiful sculptures of various designs, similarly the outer walls of the temples are studded with hundreds and thousands of sculptured images carved in the round in two or three[3] successive rows rising with the soaring towers of the temples. The tall female images with slender waists and straight limbs tend to add to the general impression of great height to the temples. The outline of every temple as a whole "has a movement different from that of the several structures which it comprises ; rising and falling and rising always higher like the breathing of a runner as the goal lies near. The Sukanāsā is the last halting point"[4]. The superstructures of each, the maṅdapa or the mahāmandap, stops at the Sukanāsā from where rises the śikhara with its Mūla manjarīs and uromanjarīs, for none can exceed the Sukanāsā in

1. Stella Kramrisch—The Hindu Temple 1946, Vol. II, p. 365, 369, 212.

2. Cunningham's Archaeological Survey Reports, Vol. II, p. 419—Kandaria Temple.

3. Percy Brown—Chap. XXII, p. 134.

4. Stella Kramrisch—The Hindu Temple, Vol. II, p. 367 (1946).

height. The Mūlamanjarī with its uromanjarīs and Śringas looking very much "like a bud about to open"[1] proceeds towards its high finial or the Kalaśa. The Śikhara all round is also adorned with Gavāksha windows which offer a beautiful play of light and shade.

Comparison with Puri and Bhuvaneśvara

The temples at Khajurāho belong to the tenth and eleventh centuries of which period another group of temples in North India is to be found at Purī and Bhuvaneśvara. But the Khajurāho temples, although belonging to the same period, differ greatly in style and construction from those of Purī and Bhuvaneśvara. The salient constituents of the Khajurāho temples are the Ardhamaṅdap (porch), Maṅdap and Mahāmaṅdap (transept), Antrāla (vestibule) and Garbhāgāra which has the towering Śikharas above (pyramidal portion) and the pradakshiṇā pāth (circumambulatory passage) around it. (The latter only in a few temples). The principal refinement of Khajurāho temples is the design and distribution of turrets (uriśingas). The poaring effect of the tower is emphasized by vertical projections representing diminutive towers of the same design. They stand on high basements and have a decorative motif of the exterior in high relief. With the exception of the tower, all parts of the temple, including the interior, are richly carved with floral and sculptural designs. But the temples of Orissa more appropriately Purī district, consist of a Vimāna (towered sanctum), and the Jagmohan—which is nothing but a square Maṅdap in front of the towered sanctum, Nāta-mandap—the dancing hall and Bhogamaṅḍap[2]—the hall for offerings, were later on added to the so called Jagmohan part of the temple. These halls were single storeyed constructions on a raised plinth consisting of a cubical part below and a pyramidal part above. The tower was also erected on the same plinth having a tall curvilinear portion, the flat ribbed disc (āmalaka) and the finial (kalaśa) as the

1. Stella Kramrisch—The Hindu Temple, Vol. II, pp. 255-56.
2. Percy Brown, Chap. XXI, p. 123.

crowning piece. The characteristic features of Orissa style are "the general astylar construction, plain interior and a lavishly decorated exterior"[1]. The Orissa temples have low projections and no pradakshiṇās.

General feature of Khajurāho sculptures

A few words must be added about the image sculptured all round the temples "The figures seem to resile charged with energy from the surface which they touch - and not only from that of the wall of the temple but from any surface, be it one of their own body"[2]. This liveliness was the result of the Aṅga-Nyāsa the "sense of touch which was given a training and purpose of the highest order in ancient India"[3]. It is as a result of this *Aṅga-Nyāsa that the* Khajurāho temples have become rare specimens of art in Northern India for here only the results of this 'sense of touch' are lavishly represented[4].

The gods' images seem to be ever young and lifelike 'resilient with the sap of life and with breath'[5]. They appear featherlike in weight which makes them specially fit for dancing and flying although they have no wings. Their fluttering garments add to their speed. They are shown wearing a special type of jewellery which through its design and shape adds dignity and height to the image.

"Garments, jewellery and coiffure of the images are a selection and enhancement of those worn in the respective country where the temple was built"[6]. Rare use of the garments is made and the Dhotī worn by the images clings so closely to the body that it can be discerned only where its hem is carved on the limbs. The greater gods wear crowns or mukutas which add to their heights while the lesser ones only wear chignons at the

1. Article on "Stūpa and Temple Architecture"—by Mr. Krishna Deva —in Archaeology of India—1950, Chap. III, p. 98.

2, 3. Stella Kramrisch—The Hindu Temple 1946, Vol. II, p. 304,

4, 5, 6. Ibid, p. 306.

back of their heads which by their various shapes add balance and proportion to the images.

The erect stance of the images where the weight of their bodies is equally divided is known as Samabhanga, the slight bend as Abhanga, the triple bend Tribhanga and the excessive triple bend as Atibhanga[1]. Falling under these categories of poses women are shown standing facing front[2], side[3] or back[4].

To illustrate fully the meanings of the Prāsāda[5] the temples have been "transmuted into carvings and images"[6]—namely the Ashtadikpālas, Pratihāras, Apsarās and other gods and goddesses, Mithuna groups and Śārdulas. The major divinities are sheltered in niches having a roof and pillared superstructure like a small shrine itself. The flying Vidyādharas in the topmost frieze seem to "carry dance in their hands, flight in their legs and sentiment or detachment in their faces"[7].

On the base of some of the temples are depicted battle and hunting scenes or the Mithuna couples which are related to the activity in this Saṁsāra[8]—hence the base signifies this mortal world.

Thus the temples are symbolically as well as literally the abodes of God leading towards the heavenly world or to the magic union with the supreme.

Obscene Images

Like many other ancient temples of the ninth, tenth and

1. Stella Kramrisch—The Hindu Temple (1946), Vol. II, p. 306.

2. Lt out Kanḍ., Viś. and Bh. Ch. Ts., Rt out Jag. and Vām. Ts. Pillar Mandap and Inner Pradak. Viś. N. T.

3. Lt out Kanḍ. T., Rt out Jag., Viś. N., Bh. Ch., Ch. Bh, and Kanḍ. Ts. Inner Pradak. (Niche) Viś. N. and Adj. Sm. T. on Lt front of Viś. N. T.

4. Rt out Viś. N., Kanḍ., Bh. Ch. Ts. and Lak T., Lt out Kanḍ.. Lak. Ts., Inner Pradak. Pārś. N., Viś. N. and Lak. and Kanḍ. Ts. Mandap Pillars Lak. T.

5, 6. Stella Kramrisch—Hindu Temple (1946), Vol. II, p. 318.

7. Ibid, p. 384.

8. Ibid, Vol. I p. 146.

eleventh centuries, Khajurāho temples also depict many obscene scenes.

The scenes may be considered as depicting exaggerated version of the sensuous pleasures of life which, though sweet outwardly, are not substantial and lead us nowhere. Our senses should in fact be directed inwards where there is only Purushottama or the God Supreme. Like our bodies, in which the soul, the real source of life, dwells inwards and is immune from the garrishness of the flesh, so also the central image of the deity, enshrined in the sanctum, has no sculptural decorations about it.

Passages in the Utkal-khand, the Agni Purāṇa and the Brihat-Samhitā support the view that such obscene figures were intended to protect the structures against lightning, cyclone or other visitations of nature. How natural agencies were averted from the place with the help of such scenes can be interpreted in two different ways. Just as evil deeds attract evil doers, so godliness attracts the gods. Gods like Indra and Varuṇa are the masters of natural calamities like cyclones and lightning. Temples being abodes of gods will attract Indra, Varuṇa and all other gods, but they seeing the obscene scenes depicted all round, will leave the place in utter aversion and hence the temples will remain secure

A second explanation of such scenes may be that God wants to test the sincerity of his devotees. If they are sincere they will stand the test of looking at the scenes unmoved. If not, they will yield to their senses and leave the temple without bowing down to the god-head placed in the sanctum—where you can reach only after acquiring full control on your senses. The gods enshrined in the innermost part of the shrines *i e.*, the sanctum will protect the temple from natural calamities because it is their abode.

But "the erotic[1] sculpture in the medieval temples did not spring up suddenly through the perversity of some local Rājā." Its origin lay deep in the past. Sex life in India had been considered a sacred tie right from the Ṛgvedic period down to the

1. "Of Kāmakalā" by Mulkraj Anand pp. 46-64 article in Mārg, Vol. X, June 57, No. 3.

present day. Consequently nearly forty-one hymns out of the total five hundred and thirty-six, are devoted to the subject in the Atharva Veda.

The Bṛhadāraṇyaka Upanishad truly states :

"In the embrace of his beloved a man forgets the whole world—everything both within and without, in the very same way, he who embraces the self knows neither within nor without."

"Moksha according to Vātsāyana could be attained only through Artha, Kāma and Dharma."

"Dharma, the practice of social righteousness ; Artha, the pursuit of prosperity ; Kāma, the pursuit of pleasure ; and Moksha, the striving after liberation were all considered complementary as well as exclusive of each other."

The very basis of the division of life-span into the Brahmacharya, Gṛhastha, Vānapraśtha and Sanyāsa āśramas was founded on healthy enjoyment of the various pleasures of life and not unnaturally crushing the desires which would lead to secret longings for the same and hinder spiritual progress. Taken as such the erotic sculptures may have been meant to initiate the young who are about to enter the life of a Gṛhasthin, into the "pleasures of the body as the vehicle of the soul."

Attention[1] has also been drawn to the prevalence of certain Śaivā sects—known as the Kaula and Kāpālika cults referred to in the drama "Prabodh Chandrodaya" (it was staged in 1065 A.D. in the court of Kīrtivarman the Chandella ruler).

"Matsyendranāth in the 10th century A. D. founded the doctrine of Yoginī Kaula". According to this cult "Kaulamārga is the path of controlled enjoyment of sense objects because Yoga and Bhoga are one."

The Kāpālika cult was also known as Mahāvratin, Mahā-

1. "Kaula Kāpālika cults at Khajurāho" by Pramod Chandra, article in the Lalit Kalā Akadami No. 1--2 April 55—March 56, pp. 98—105 Vol. X, June 57, No. 3.

bhairavānuśāsana, Parameśvarasiddhāntin and Somasiddhāntin. Bhavabhutiś play Mālatimādhava refers to the Kāpālikas who lived in close association with their Yoginīs also called Kapālvanitās. The oldest temple—that of Chausath Joginī at Khajurāho, might have been the seat of this sect. This is more probable due to the fact that the Dāhala (the territory of the Kalachuris) country which is in the vicinity of Khajurāho was one of their pīthas or centres.

Some of the erotic scenes depicted at Khajurāho show clean-shaven Sādhūs with no jewellery or clothing carrying a club or a Kamandalu in hand, who are none but the Kāpālika Sādhūs. Certain postures in the erotic scenes[1] also suggest yogic postures rather than sexual postures.

Like the Sādhaka of Tāntric beliefs, the Kāpālikas also believed in the release from Māyā through full enjoyment rather than rejection.

Sir John Woodroffe[2] the Tāntric scholar says :—

"The Sādhaka is taught not to think that we are one with the Divine in Liberation only, but here and now, in every act we do. For in truth all soul is Śakti. It is Śiva, who as Śakti, is acting through the Śādhaka. When this is realised in every natural function then, each exercise thereof ceases to be a mere animal act and becomes a religious rite—a Yajña. Every function is a part of the Divine Action in Nature."

The origin of the obscene figures, occurring on the temples of North and South India built in the eleventh century, is also traced to the Tāntric form of Buddhism[3]. Harrison Foreman

1. Rt and Lt out Viś. N. T.

2. "Of Kāmakalā" by Mulkraj Anand—p. 61, article in Mārg, Vol. X, June 57, No. 3.

3. Proceedings of the Indian History Congress 9th Session. 1945—Krishna Chandra Panigrahi, pp. 94-95.

gives a graphic account of his experiences in the Buddhist Tāntric temples of Tibet[1]. By judicious questioning he learnt from his Lāmā friends at Lhabrang what the obscene idol house looked like from the inside and what were the awful esoteric, rites performed therein. When the Lāmā has reached the stage of spiritual training where he thinks he can look upon the flesh without emotions or without being moved by such sights, he enters the Obscene Idol House for self-examination. Where extremely life-like figures depicted in most lewd postures are intended to test the height of self-control that he has achieved. Besides, beautiful women, especially trained in the arts and wiles of womanhood begin to dance before him. The Lāmā sits in the Buddha's Bhūmisparsha Mūdıā studying his own reactions. If he remains unmoved, he has certainly conquered his senses, if not, he will again have to prepare himself for this 'post-graduate' examination.

Hence, by depicting such scenes in the temples the sincerity of the devotee was put to test. If he passed this examination, he was ready for direct and immediate communion with the gods ; if not, he has to redouble his efforts at self-mastery.

Dynamism

Sculpture in general is the art of the static, depicting one mood or movement or posture only. But at Khajurāho, the images are dynamic and they seem to be engaged in some form of action or other The sculptor in the museum panel (Fig. 107) is ready to strike at his chisel with all his might ; the hunter with bow stretched (Fig. 105) is going to discharge the arrow while the deer puzzled at the sight of the hunter does not know how to save its life ; the army is on the march (Fig. 113) ; the clarionet player is blowing the instrument with all his might

The sculptured figures have beautiful bodies—slender waists, large round busts, slender long legs and beautiful faces. They

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1. Through forbidden Tibet—1936-London, Harrison Foreman pp. 107-109.

give the onlooker an impression of greater physical sensuousness than the Sārnāth sculptors. But the facial expression of the images reflects in most cases the inner feelings of the heart-tender self-yielding expressions on the Śānta mūrtis of gods; ferocity, and ruthlessness on the Saṁhāra mūrtis; pride, love, happiness or contentment on those of the Apsarās and female figures, or other feelings corresponding to the situation depicted.

Decorative design

The decorative motifs all over the temples in small friezes consist of geometrical designs or the heads of the dragon with flaming eyes and tiger face. The creeper designs so common at Bhuvaneśvara are conspicuous by their absence here. The Gvāksha windows however are blind decorative windows, combined in rows and super-added so as to form a lattice or network of intricate and beautiful workmanship.

The Vāhanas

Unlike Bhuvaneśvara, the Vāhanas of gods at Khajurāho depicted beside them are small in size. But even these miniature animals sometime express love or astonishment by their looks (*e. g.* the Bull of Śiva looking at him fondly, with devotion or astonished in his Tāṇḍava Nṛitamūrti or Ugra mūrti). These expressions are very cleverly conveyed by the sculptors by turning the eyes and the erect ears of the image shown. The rat of the Gaṇeśa image in the museum actually seems to bear a joyous expression towards the god, and most of the other Vāhanas are shown standing beside their lords in a serene or placid mood as if they very well understand the part they have to play and also know the faith their masters have in them.

The Buddha image

The most peculiar and unique of all is the Buddha image in Bhūmisparsha mudrā (Fig. 19) in the museum. The Lord is shown seated on a full blown Lotus big enough to accommodate him in Padmāsana His right hand is touching the earth while the left one is placed on the left foot. The Chīvara of the god,

instead of covering all his body, leaves the right shoulder and right hand bare while its end is thrown over the left one. The face of image bespeaks the young age of the god who seems to be in his twenties. Had there been no halo behind, one would have thought that the image depicts the Lord prior to his attaining of Buddhahood, but the remnants of a broken halo dispel these doubts. The cruel hand of the unbelievers has distorted the face and also shattered the sacred halo. Only the mudrā of the icon helps us to identify it as that of the Buddha.

Perspective

Another striking feature of Khajurāho sculptures is the attempt that the Khajurāho artists seem to have made to introduce an element of perspective in their depictions. If this interpretation were to prove correct, it would follow that we have a feature here which is unique, and which has not come across in any other phase of Indian sculpture. This view is based mainly on the fact that in many a Khajurāho depiction, a small male or female figure is shown standing someway behind or to one side of the main figure These smaller figures do not appear in the cases of secular figure, to be attendants or servants. It would thus appear that they may have been introduced by the artist, in the depiction to serve as the vehicle for perspective, in the panel.

The most striking example of this feature is the museum piece showing a young farmer with a sickle lying behind him and his hands folded in the añjali pose. An elderly man is shown standing a little to one side and at some distance from him (Fig. 106). The difference between the sizes of the two figures in this panel indicates the distance between them. Another secular figure (Fig. 92, Rt out Pārś N. T.) of woman applying collyrium to her eyes has behind her and at some distance from her the figure of a male admirer watching the operation. Once again, the smaller size of the full-grown man as compared to that of the woman could only have been depicted to indicate the distance from which he is watching the woman. In most cases of other secular male and female figures (Figures 62, 92, 93, 95, 106)

depicted as variously engaged, there is invariably a smaller male figure apparently watching the woman. It would seem that the artist was seeking to portray the natural curiosity of the male about the other sex and the propensity to indulge in it even though from a distance. From the point of view of art, this type of portrayal serves to impart an impression of depth to the depicted scene and the introduction of an element of perspective in the sculptured representation.

The same feature can be seen in the depictions of a religious nature also (Figs. 6, 46, 70, 78). In these, however, the same thing cannot be asserted with certainty as the artist's object may very well have been to indicate the difference between men and the gods, the greater size of the gods representing their greater power and superhuman greatness. In any case whatever may have been the real objective of the artist, this introduction of miniature figures alongside bigger portrayals in numerous depictions does appear to be another striking feature of Khajurāho sculptures.

General conclusions

The foregoing review of Khajurāho sculptures provides, it is hoped, a clear indication that Khajurāho art seems to have a specific place of its own in the history of Indian sculpture. They constitute rare specimens of our later medieval art, and exhibit to perfection the dynamism, and the sensuous vitality that distinguish the art of this period from that of Sārnāth. It is true that it lacks in some measure the characteristic features of Gupta Art, its "refinement, simplicity of expression and dominant spiritual purpose".[1] But there is no lack, in Khajurāho sculptures, of the artist's ability to depict a tranquil placidity in the facial expression of his images. The poses exhibited have generally a grace and rhythm by no means inferior in its own way to those of the Sārnāth or Mathurā sculptures. Above all, the execution of the sculptures is faultless.

Khajurāho sculptures, however, exhibit a range of design, form, and expression to be found neither in the art of the Gupta

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1. V. S. Agarwal : Gupta Art—Lucknow—1948, p. 31.

age, nor even in the contemporary temples at Bhuvaneśvar. In their comprehensiveness of artistic expression, they can only be compared with the paintings of the Ajantā caves, which exhibit the same wide range of sensitiveness in another medium. The "bewildering diversity in the anthromorphic representation of Śiva, Viṣṇu, Gaṇeśa, Sūrya, Śakti and other Brahmanical gods is noteworthy".[1] Depictions of Śānta, Ugra, Saṁhāra, Sukhāsana, and Nṛitya mūrtis of Śiva, Yogasthānaka mūrti, Avatāras and minor gods and the secular images drawn from almost all walks of life and occupations constitute almost an illustrated dictionary of Indian iconography and sculpture.

It would thus appear that the Khajurāho sculptures mark a definite stage in the evolution of this art in India. They represent a development intermediate between Sārnāth art and the later art of peninsular India. As indicated earlier, the modelling and the chiselling of Khajurāho images is not so perfect as at Sārnāth. Consequently we miss there that impression of refinement and poise and elegance which is characteristic of Sārnāth art. On the other hand, the modelling is comparatively grosser, rougher and heavier than at Sārnāth though it exhibits more vigour and dynamism. Nevertheless, the Sārnāth tradition still seems to have been active in some measure as is shown by the suppleness and grace of the poses and the harmonious flow of the lines of the Khajurāho figures.

Again, we have at Khajurāho the same sympathetic and natural treatment of secular themes as at Mahābalīpuram, and the same poise, dignity and rhythm as those of the best products of the Pallava art. Yet, these figures also exhibit the dynamic vitality of the renascent Brahmanical art of Ellora, Aurangabad and Elephanta. It will, therefore, not be an exaggeration perhaps, to say that the Sārnāth traditions and the major trends of Malwa, Pallava and the Deccan sculptures from the 7th century onwards are all reflected in varying measures in Khajurāho sculptures. The originality of the Khajurāho sculptors, as has

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1 The Age of Imperial Kannauj--Chap, XI, p. 304.

been already pointed out earlier, lay in the striking novelty of detail in the depiction of the various icons, and of the bewildering variety of composite images like the sixty-four handed Viṣṇu and the four-legged and seven-headed Śiva unauthorised by any of the old iconographic texts. It would appear that the Khajurāho sculptors dared to give their gods the ayudhas of their choice. New depictions like separate Navagraha images further add to this impression of their originality and versatility.

Further, it has also been pointed out above that while Śaivism seems to have been the dominant sect at Khajurāho during the 10th and 11th centuries, the extant monuments exhibit a unique spirit of catholicity and religious amity between the different sects of this region.

The contemporary Bhuvaneśvara temples provide a striking contrast to the Khajurāho temples in more respects than one. The images in the Bhuvaneśvara temples are mostly of miniature type. Instead of being carved in single stone pieces they are carved out of small blocks of stones and then joined together which sometimes distorts the figure or spoils it proportions. The modelling of the Bhuvaneśvara images is also coarser and heavier than those of Khajurāho. Nor is the range of sculptural depiction so wide. The absence of teaching scenes at Bhuvaneśvara may be due to education not being so popular in the region. Hunting and drinking scenes are also absent there. The blossoming trees frequently shown at Bhuvaneśvara are rare at Khajurāho perhaps due to the dryness of the area. The fighting scenes are also absent at Bhuvaneśvara as the temples show only armies on the march, dancing poses are few. The god's iconography at Bhuvaneśvara as opposed to that at Khajurāho is very simple as only a few gods are depicted and they too are mostly one-headed and two-armed (excepting the Brahmā at Purī). These images are also always shown with their prescribed Vāhanas and āyudhas. The Bhuvaneśvara temples depict a greater number of obscene figures but in this respect, the Khajurāho temples exhibit greater restraint.

The wealth of secular imagery at Khajurāho constitute another unique feature of these sculptures. Bhuvaneśvara poor in this respect. Only the "Descent of Gangā" rock pan can probably, be said to compare with Khajurāho in this fiel From babies in their mother's lap to world-renouncing ascetic men and women of all sorts and conditions, engaged in th numerous occupations, characteristic of a complete and high developed society figure in the sculptured friezes of the Khajur ho temples. Tillers of the soil, hunters, stone-masons, domesti servants, scholars and kings, singers and dancers—all find place in these monuments. Women are depicted in all phase of their life and work. It is clear that the Khajurāho sculptor ignored and neglected no facet of life as beyond their province and that is why their work has provided for us, either hundre years later, a very compendium of life as lived in the India c the 10th and 11th centuries.

Appendix
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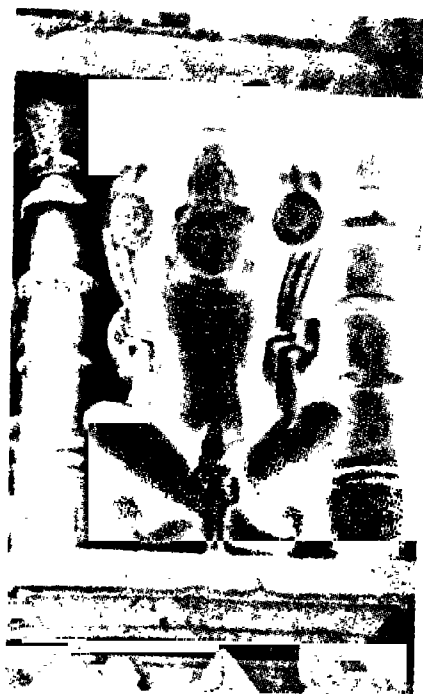
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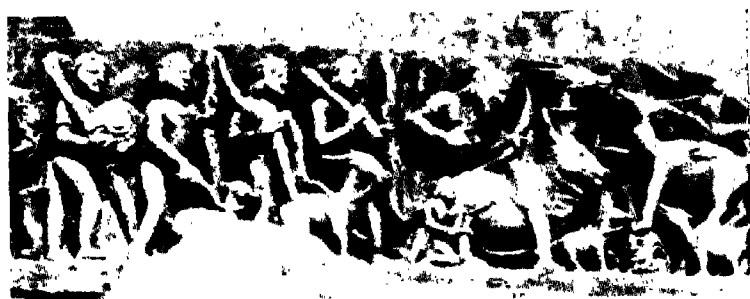
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